The Philanthropist.

PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

JAMES G. BIRNEY AND — We are verily guilty concerning our brother * * * therefore is this distress come upon us. — GAMALIEL BAILEY, Jr., Editors.

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THE PHILANTHROPIST,
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POETRY.

HYMN.

Translated from the French of Lamartine.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

A HYMN more, Oh my lyre!
Praise to the God above,
Of joy, and life, and love,
Sweeping its strings of fire!
Oh! who the speed of bird and wind,
And sunbeam's glance will lend to me,
That, soaring upward, I may find
My resting-place and home in thee!
Thou, whom my soul, midst doubt and gloom,
Adorest with a fervent flame—
Mysterious spirit! unto whom
Pertain nor sign nor name!

Swiftly my lire's soft murmurs go
Up from the cold and joyless earth—
Back to the God who bade them flow,
Whose moving spirit sent them forth:
But as for me, Oh God! for me,
The lowly creature of thy will,
Lingering and sad, I sigh to thee,
An earth-bound pilgrim still.

Was not my spirit born to shine
Where yonder stars and suns are glowing?
To breathe with them the light divine,
From God's own holy altar flowing?
To be, indeed, whate'er the soul
In dreams hath thirsted for so long—
A portion of Heaven's glorious whole
Of loveliness and song?

Oh! watchers of the stars at night,
Who breathe their fire, as we the air—
Suns, thunders, stars and rays of light,
Oh! say, is HE—the Eternal, there!
Bend there around his awful throne
The seraph's glance, the angel's knee!
Or are thy inmost depths his own,
Oh, wild and mighty sea!

Thoughts of my soul! how swift ye go!
Swift as the eagle's glance of fire,
Or arrows from the archer's bow,
To the far aim of your desire!
Thought after thought, ye thronging rise,
Like spring-doves from the startled wood,
Bearing like them your sacrifice
Of music unto God!

And shall these thoughts of joy and love
Come back again no more to me—
Returning like the Patriarch's dove,
Wing-weary from the eternal sea?
To bear within my loging arms,
The promise-bough of kindlier skies,
Plucked from the green, immortal palms
Which shadow Paradise!

All-moving spirit!—freely forth
At thy command the strong wind goes
Its errand to the passive earth,
Nor art can stay, nor strength oppose;
Until it folds its weary wing
Once more within the hand divine,
So weary of each earthly thing,
My spirit turns to thine!

Child of the sea, the mountain stream,
From its dark caverns, hurries on,
Ceaseless by night and morning's beam,
By evening's star, and noontide's sun—
Until at last it sinks to rest,
O'erwearied, in the waiting sea,
And moans upon its mothers breast—
So turns my soul to Thee!

Oh Thou who bid'st the torrent flow,
Who lendest wings unto the wind—
Mover of all things! where art thou?
Oh, whither shall I go to find
The secret of thy resting place
Is there no holy wing for me,
That, soaring, I may search the space
Of highest heaven for thee!

Oh, would I were as free to rise,
As leaves on Autumn's whirlwind borne—
The arrowy light of sunset skies,
Or sound, or ray, or star of morn
Which melts in heaven at twilight's close,
Or aught which soars unchecked and free,
Through earth and heaven, that I might lose
Myself in finding Thee!

ANNUAL MEETING.—The N. Y. State A. S. S. will hold its second Annual Meeting in the city of Utica on the third Wednesday, (the 20th) of September next at 10 o'clock, A. M. County and town Societies are respectfully requested to select a list of delegates who will be sure to attend on that occasion, and by that service as far as possible promote the interests of the cause. All the friends of abolition *principles* and *measures* residing in places where there are no organized societies, are invited to be present, and become members of the State Society. It is hoped, that local Societies will proceed *immediately* to appoint delegates without expecting further notice. All papers in the State of N. Y. without distinction of sect or party, will confer a favor by giving this notice two or three insertions.

W. L. CHAPLIN,
Chairman Com. of Arrangements.

TEXAS.

Admission of Texas.

Whatever doubts may have existed in the minds of any, heretofore, as to the probability of the agitation of the question of the admission of Texas into our Union at the approaching session of Congress, none, we think, can now remain in the mind of any well informed person, that it will be introduced and vigorously pushed by the Southern members; and we regret to say, that there is too much reason to fear their success. The admission has been distinctly recommended by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi; and leading Southern papers advocate *immediate action* on the subject, at the opening of the session. A few Northern papers, also, have recently come out in favor of the plan, among which are two or three of the leading papers of the city of New York.

If there were no other reasons for protesting, most solemnly, against the proposed annexation, by Congress, it would be a sufficient one that no power is given to that body for any such purpose, by the Constitution, and that the attempt to exercise the power would be a gross infraction of that instrument, and a violation of the rights of those who were the original parties to it. We are aware that the admission into the Union of the States of Louisiana, Missouri, and Arkansas will be cited in opposition to this opinion, and are prepared to meet it. We say, then, unhesitatingly, that the admission of those States was unconstitutional, and a violation of the rights of the States included within the original limits of the Union. This is no new doctrine. It was urged with great force against the admission of the two former, and was never satisfactorily met and answered. It was the opinion of Jefferson himself, that such admission was unconstitutional, without an express grant of power to Congress for the purpose, by the States. We give his own words. Speaking of the acquisition of Louisiana, he says, in relation to the action of Congress upon it: "I suppose they must then appeal to *the nation* for an *additional article to the Constitution*, approving and confirming an act which the nation had not previously authorised. The Constitution has made no provision for our holding foreign territory, *still less for incorporating foreign nations into our Union.*" [Jefferson's Works, Vol. 3, page 512.] Again: "I am aware of the force of the observations you make on the power given by the Constitution to Congress, to admit new States into the Union without restraining the subject to the territory then constituting the United States. But when I consider that the limits of the United States are precisely fixed by the treaty of 1783, that the Constitution expressly declares itself to be made for the United States, I cannot help believing the intention was not to permit Congress to admit into the Union new States, which should be formed out of the territory for which, and under whose authority alone, they were then acting. I do not believe it was meant that they might receive England, Ireland, Holland, &c. into it, which would be the case on your construction." [Ibid, Vol. 4, page 2.]

Louisiana was, nevertheless, admitted into the Union, without any new grant of powers to Congress. The possession of that country, to give to our eastern States the control of the navigation of the Mississippi, was so desirable, that it reconciled the people to the infraction of the Constitution, and it was acquiesced in from the apparent necessity of the case. But this, instead of being allowed to be made a precedent for new infractions of the same kind, imposes additional obligations on us to guard the Constitution more vigilantly than ever, and to see that it is not broken down piece by piece, till nothing remains but a shattered wreck of what was once considered the palladium of our liberties.

The admission of States into the Union, whose territory is without the limits of the nation as originally constituted, is a violation of the rights of the original States, because it diminishes their relative weight and influence, and because the practical effect of it has been, thus far, and will be still more, if Texas is admitted, to change the relative power of different sections having interests diverse from each other; taking the balance from those in whose hands it was originally placed, and leaving them without any guarantee for the protection of their peculiar interests; and putting it into the hands of those, who, because they were in a minority, had their peculiar interests guarded by special provisions of the Constitution.

When the Constitution was adopted seven of the thirteen States were, essentially, free States, though, in all of them, except Massachusetts, a few slaves still remained; five were slave states; and one—Delaware—was nearly upon the poise between the slave-holding and the free labor interest. This gave the free States a decided majority, in both branches of Congress, and in the election of President. The prospect was, that the admission of new States would still more strengthen the ascendancy of the interests, in whose hands the balance of power was placed. All this was perfectly well understood by all parties to the compact, and the Southern States took advantage of it, to exact important guarantees, and concessions in their favor, as an equivalent for it. It was provided that their slaves, who should escape into other States, should be delivered up to their masters, and they were allowed a representation for three-fifths of their slaves, as if they were freemen, although, for all other purposes, they are known to the Constitution and laws only as property.

Therefore, by the annexation to the Union, of *foreign* territory, in which the slave-holding interests prevail, the conditions of the original compact are broken. The balance of power for which we paid an equivalent, is taken from us, while the equivalent is also retained. Thus we have to pay for the loaf, and suffer those to eat it of whom we made the purchase. In all questions, now, in which the interests of the north and the south come in conflict, the votes of three of the northern States in the Senate, are as completely nullified, as if they had been expelled from the Union.

To increase and perpetuate t'is accession of relative power, is the motive which impels the South to urge the admission of Texas. This is distinctly admitted by the Committee of the Mississippi Legislature, to which that subject was referred. In their report, they say:

"The Northern States have no interests of their own which require any special safeguards for their defence, save only their domestic manufactures; and God knows they have already received protection from Government on a most liberal scale; under which encouragement they have improved and flourished beyond example. The South has very peculiar interests to preserve; interests already violently assailed and boldly threatened.

"Your committee are fully pursuaded that this protection to her best interests will be afforded by the annexation of Texas; an EQUIPOISE of influence in the halls of Congress will be secured, which will furnish us a permanent guarantee of protection."

Mark the words; 'an EQUIPOISE OF INFLUENCE in the halls of Congress will be *secured*, which will afford *us* a *permanent* guarantee of protection." So indeed it will. Texas contains a territory at least twice as large in extent as the whole five States of Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, united, with a soil much more productive than theirs. In a few years, from five to eight new States may be made of it, and admitted into the Union, and then the South will have obtained an *equipoise* for the influence of the whole of the good old seven free States; the votes of those States will be neutralized by those which come from territory not included within our original limits, and thus the South, instead of being the minority as was contemplated in the formation of the Constitution, will have concentrated the *whole political power* of the Union in its own hands.

Are the people of the free States prepared to see al their political power and influence unjustly wrested from them? To see the protection of their interests, their rights, their liberties, taken out of their own hands, and given to those who have never exhibited any particular affection for them? Are they ready to be thrown into the balance as a mere make-weight, an "equipoise," to the rogues and renegades of Texas, or of any other foreign State which our Southern friends may be disposed to hitch on as an offset to us? If they are, so be it, but if they are not, then, they should send up petitions and remonstrances to Congress, from every city, town, village, and hamlet, through the whole length and breadth of the country, protesting as with the voice of one man against the proposed annexation, respectfully, yet firmly, and in a manner neither to be misconstrued or misunderstood.

The Editor of the Christian Register, who has seen Dr. Channing's Letter to Hon. Henry Clay, on the Annexation of Texas to the U. S., which is soon to be published, says:

"It is one of the most spirited and forcible productions of his distinguished pen. It has more freedom, directness and plainness than any other of the Dr's published writings. Designed for circulation amongst all classes of our citizens, it is carefully adapted to the understanding of all readers, and is to be sold at an unusually low price."

The author utters himself with an earnestness which plainly indicates that his convictions of the iniquity and the danger of annexing Texas to the Union, were so deep and strong as to be irrepressible. He speaks boldly, but he addresses an intelligent and free people. He speaks glowingly, but it is from the inspiration of a pure zeal for humanity and the right. He speaks severely, but it is to expose and rebuke fraud and wickedness. He speaks with the authority of an experienced Statesman, but it is upon a matter concerning which, the moralist, the divine and the free citizen ought to be well informed, and competent and prompt to discourse.

The letter will be read with interest wherever freedom is dear, and justice and truth hold sway.

POLITICAL.

A Hint to President Van Buren.

When Mr. Van Buren pledged himself to shape his presidential course, on the question which most deeply concerns the whole people of the United States, according to the wishes of slaveholders, he did not carry with him all his northern political friends, much less the best part of northern democracy. By no men is his traitorous pledge more deeply abhored or more unequivocally condemned than by many who voted for him. And to some of these rebukes, we do not see how, as a prudent man, he can fail to give some heed. Especially should we suppose that the article which we are about to copy from one of the ablest of the democratic journals, one to which he is under deeper obligations than to the Alabany Argus or the Washington Globe, would commend itself to his serious attention. The nation is on the brink of a precipice, and with Martin Van Buren it rests whether it shall pass over and be broken to pieces.—*Emancipator.*

From The New York Evening Post

The Rhode Island candidates for the office of representatives in Congress have been interrogated as to their opinions concerning the annexion of Texas to the American Union. We have before us a Providence paper containing the answers of the four gentlemen nominated by the two opposite political parties. They all declare themselves decidedly adverse to the admission of Texas into the confederacy. This affords a strong presumption of the state of public opinion on that question in Rhode Island.

It has been intimated in some of the Southern papers that the question of receiving the Texan republic into our confederacy would be brought up at the extra session of Congress in September. If it should be so, the members will have enough to occupy them until the ordinary time of opening the winter session. Whoever broaches that question awakens a long and vehement controversy. If that firebrand be tossed into the hall of legislation, and be not immediately thrown out again, it will kindle a flame which all the storms of next winter will not quench.

Yet the question is to be decided, and we should be ready to meet it whenever it comes up. We care not, for our part, how soon it is met and settled.

The project is to annex to the Union a territory in which slavery is an established political institution—a territory so ample that half a dozen states as large as Kentucky might be carved out of it—a territory rapidly filling up with adventurers from this country, who have just wrested it from the hands of the Mexicans, and but the other day obtained the recognition of its national independence by the United States.

The question will immediately arise whether we shall not violate the obligations of neutrality with Mexico by annexing Texas to the republic. On this point there can be no doubt. We break our treaty with Mexico the instant we do this. We adopt the quarrel of the new member of the confederacy; we must fight her battles and protect her frontier. We have a Mexican war on our hands at once.

But, suppose that while we are agitating the question of annexing the Texan republic, Mexico, alarmed at the probably success of the project, and certain to be beaten in a contest with the United States, relinquishes her claim to the territory. Will that put a better face on the matter! Let us see how this will tell in history.

It will be related that the people of the United States overflowed into the territory belonging to Mexico. They quarrelled with Mexico, declared themselves independent, and defied her power. The people of the United States at home, hastened, while the war was yet unfinished, and before any other nation, to recognize the political independence of the people of the United States in Texas. It will be related, that as soon as this was done, a compact was formed between the emigrants in Texas and their friends at home, transferring to their native country the territory of which they had taken possession. Mexico, conscious of her weakness, saw that it was prudent to acquiesce.

This would be the story of a high handed public robbery. Yet, this in our view, is precisely the part we are called upon to act, by the numerous speculators who have purchased large tracts of Texas lands, and now expect the nation will forfeit its honor to enable them to make their fortunes.

But there are yet other considerations connected with this question of great, and eventually perhaps, of still higher importance to the wlfare of the nation. If the independence of Texas had been acknowledged by Mexico herself ten years ago, we would still oppose her annexation to the republic.

The question how long an empire so widely extended as ours can be kept together by means of our form of government is yet to be decided. That this form of government is admirably calculated for a large territory and a numerous population we have no doubt, but there is a probable limit to this advantage. Extended beyond a certain distance, and a certain number of states, it would become inconvenint and undesirable, and a tendency would be felt to break up into smaller nations. If the Union of these states is destined to be broken by such a cause, the annexation of Texas to the Union would precipitate the event, perhaps by a whole century. It is better to carry out the experiment with the territory we now possess.

The slaveholding states, by the Constitution of the Union, are disproportionately represented in Congress.—While other states are represented only according to their free population, the slaveholding states are allowed an additional number of representatives for a certain species of property, their slaves. This we hold to be an unjust partition of the political power, and utterly contrary to the spirit of our democratic institutions. It was however, the original compact, and we are not disposed to disturb it. But Texas, if she comes into the Union with her slaves, must come in under this very compact, and we protest vehemetly against extending it to a new territory. A territory so broad and fertile, promising so soon to be filled with inhabitants, electing its members on this—aristocratic basis, would produce a prodigious inequality in our representatives in Congress.

The extension and corroboration of the institution of slavery within our republic, is also another objection to the annexation of Texas. Holding, as we do, its existence among us to be a great evil, a grest misfortune, and a monstrous anomaly in our institutions, we cannot but regard with the strongest alarm the project of adding to the nation a vast territory which holds that evil within its bosom. We have enough of it as the republic is now constituted. Its difficulties, its dangers, the dissensions to which it gives rise among ourselves, its mischiefs "moral, social and political," are already sufficiently great, without the reinforcement which they would derive from the addition to the Union of a vast and populous slave-holding territory.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

From the Cincinnati Gazette,

Seventy Years Since.

We invite the attention of our readers, generally, but of our Virginia readers, in particular, to the subjoined article. It speaks for itself, and is a proper comparative with the address of the Society of Friends, which we recently republished. We publish it to show what was anciently, and under despotic government, held legitimate and free discussion through the press. It is in no prurient spirit of mischief that we introduce any of the articles we have lately published touching the vexed question of domestic slavery. The prosecutions commenced in Virginia call for investigation and discussion. They are too pregnant with important consequences to pass unnoticed.

To one position of this ancient essay, the attention of the present generation cannot be too closely directed:—"*We learn from history, that slavery, wherever encouraged, has sooner or later been productive of very dangerous commotions.*" In this day we need not resort to history to learn the commotions that slavery introduces among a free and christian people.

EXTRACT

From an Address in the Virginia Gazette, of March 19th, 1767. By a respectable member of the community:

MR. RIND:

Permit me, in your paper, to address the members of our Assembly, on two points, in which the public interest is very nearly concerned.

The abolition of slavery and retrieval of specie in this colony, are the subjects on which I would bespeak their attention:

Long and serious reflections upon the nature and consequences of slavery, have convinced me, that it is a violation both of justice and religion; that it is dangerous to the safety of community in which it prevails; that it is destructive to the growth of arts and sciences;—and lastly, that it produces a numerous and very fatal train of vices, both in the slave and his master.

To prove these assertions, shall be the purpose of the following essay.

That slavery then is a violation of justice, will plainly appear when we consider what justice is. It is simply and truly defined, as by *Justinian, Constans et perpetua volantas, jus suum cuique tribuendi;* a constant endeavor to give every man his right.

Now, as freedom is unquestionably the birth-right of all mankind, *Africans* as well as *Europeans*, to keep the former in a state of slavery, is a constant violation of that right, and therefore of justice.

The ground on which the civilians who favor slavery admit it to be just, namely, consent, force and birth, is totally disputable. For surely a man's own will and consent, cannot be allowed to introduce so important an innovation into society as slavery, or to make himself an outlaw, which is really the state of a slave, since neither consenting to, nor aiding the laws of the society, in which he lives, he is neither bound to obey them, nor entitled to their protection.

To found any right in force, is to frustrate all right, and involve every thing in confusion, violence and rapine.—With these two the last must fall, since if the parent cannot justly be made a slave, neither can the child be born in slavery. "The law of nations, says Baron *Montesquieu*, has doomed prisoners to slavery, to prevent their being slain; the *Roman* civil law, permitted debtors whom their creditors might treat ill, to sell themselves. And the law requires that children, whom their parents, being slaves, cannot maintain, should be slaves like them. These reasons of the civilians are not just; it is not true that a captive may be slain, unless in a cause of absolute necessity; but if he hath been reduced to slavery, it is plain that no such slavery existed, since he was not slain. It is not true that a free man can sell himself, for sale supposes a price, but a slave and his property becomes immediately his masters; the slave can therefore receive no price, nor the master pay, &c. And if a man cannot sell himself, nor a prisoner of war be reduced to slavery, much less can his child." Such are the sentiments of this illustrious civilian; his reasonings, which I have been obliged to contract, the reader, interested in this subject, will do well to consult at large.

Yet even these rights of imposing slavery, refutable as they are, we have not to authorize the bondage of the *Africans*. For neither do they consent to be our slaves, nor do we purchase them of their conquerors. The *British* merchants obtain them from *Africa* by violence, artifice and treachery, with a few trinkets to prompt those unfortunate ******** people to enslave one another by force and stratagem. Purchase them indeed they may, under the authority of an act of the British Parliament. An act entailing upon the *Africans*, with whom we were not at war, and over whom a British Parliament could not of right assume even a shadow of authority, the dreadful curse of perpetual slavery, upon them and their children for ever. *There cannot be in nature, there is not in all history, an instance in which every right of man is more flagrantly violated.* The laws of the ancients never authorized the making of slaves, but of those nations whom they had conquered; yet they were Heathens and we are Christians. They were misled by a monstrous religion, divested of humanity by a horrible and barbarous worship; we are directed by the unerring precepts of the revealed religion we possess, enlightened by its wisdom, and humanized by its benevolence; before them were gods deformed with passion, and horrible for every cruelty and vice; before us is that incomparable pattern of meekness, charity, love and justice to mankind, which so transcendently distinguished the Founder of Christianity and his ever amiable doctrines.

Reader, remember that the corner stone of your religion is to do unto others as you would they should do unto you; ask then your own heart whether it would not abhor any one, as the most outrageous violator of that and every other principle of right, justice and humanity who should make a slave of you and your posterity for ever. Remember that God knoweth the heart; lay not this unction to your soul, that it is the custom of the country; that you found it so; that not your will but your necessity consents. Ah! think how little such an excuse will avail you in that awful day, when your Saviour shall pronounce judgment on you, for breaking a law too plain to be misunderstood, too sacred to be violated. If we say that we are Christians, yet act more inhumanly and unjustly than Heathens, with what dreadful justice must this sentence of our blessed Savior fall upon us: "Not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of Heaven, but he that doth the will of my Father which is in Heaven." (*Matthew* vii. 22.) Think a moment how much your temporal, your eternal welfare depends upon an abolition of a practice, which deforms the image of your GOD, tramples on his revealed will, infringes the most sacred rights, and violates humanity.

Enough I hope has been effected to prove that slavery is a violation of justice and religion. That it is dangerous to the safety of the State in which it prevails, may be as safely asserted.

What one's own experience has not taught, that of others must decide. From hence does history derive its utility; for being, when truly written, a faithful record of the transactions of mankind, and the consequences that flowed from them, we have means of judging what will be the probable effect of transactions similar among ourselves.

We learn then from history, that slavery, wherever encouraged, has sooner or later been productive of very dangerous commotions. I will not trouble my readers here with quotations in support of this assertion, but content myself with referring those who may be dubious of its truth, to the histories of *Athens, Lacedemon, Rome* and *Spain.*

How long, how bloody and destructive was the contest between the Moorish slaves and the native Spaniards?—and after deluges of blood had been shed, the Spaniards obtained nothing more, than driving them into the mountains. Less bloody indeed, though not less alarming have been the insurrection in Jamaica; and to imagine that we shall be forever exempted from this calamity, which experience teaches us to be inseparable from slavery, so encouraged, is an infatuation as astonishing as it will be surely fatal."

From the Birmingham Philanthropist of June 8th, we copy the following interesting report.—ED. PHIL.

The Public Breakfast to Mr. Sturge.

The scene in the Town Hall on Tuesday morning was deeply interesting. The tables were supplied by Mr. Lisseter, and the arrangements for the breakfast were more perfect than any previous one at which we were present.

There were nearly five hundred ladies and gentlemen present, of all sects and parties; and the elavated cross table was filled by gentlemen of the first respectability.—The HIGH BAILIFF, R. WEBB, Esq. presided; on his right sat the zealous, devoted, and exemplary friend of the Negro, JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., and on his left the LOW BAILIFF, J. JAMES, Esq. The proceedings were deeply exciting, and the facts detailed evidently produced a rooted conviction on the minds of all present that the generosity of the English nation had been foolishly lavished on a set of men, who for the most part are a disgrace to human nature.

The CHAIRMAN opened the business of the meeting by saying that they were met that day for the purpose of congratulating and receiving their guest, Mr. JOSEPH STURGE, upon his safe return amongst them. (Loud and repeated cheers.) That gentleman left his native shores with the best feeling of benevolence and sympathy for some of the most degraded of the human race. They must all more or less participate in his feelings, and be grateful and thankful to him for his noble exertions, under the many perils and privations he must have suffered in carraying his benevolent intentions into execution. (Cheers.) As he was sure the feelings of the meeting would be much better expressed in the Address to be presented to Mr. Sturge, than by any expression of feeling which he (the Chairman) could give utterance to, he would not further trespass on their time, than by calling upon MR. MARSH to read the address. (Cheers.)

Mr. Marsh then read the address, and at the conclusion said, "I have great pleasure, my beloved friend, in presenting to you this address; and I am sure, in common with all around me, we feel thankful to that kind and watchful Providence who has brought you into the midst of us this day in so much health and safety. We may repeat the idea contained in the address, by expressing a hope that your labours have not been in vain; indeed, we are persuaded, under the blessing of heaven, that they cannot have been in vain. I thank you, therefore, in the name of this assembly, for your faithful and unwearied exertions in behalf of the unhappy negro, and with submission to that Providence which has protected you in your labour of love, I may say, that while memory holds her seat within us, or while any thing like human sympathy or feeling exists in our bosoms, we shall stand by you in this sacred cause till we have struck the last fetter off the slave, and achieved the full and entire emancipation of our oppressed fellow-men. (Loud and enthusiastic cheering.)

PRELIMINARIES.

MR STURGE here rose under deep and evident emotion; but he was so oppressed and overpowered by his feelings, that it was some time before he could give utterance to a word. He at length said,—Though I cannot but very deeply feel your kind and affectionate expression towards me on my return amongst you, yet I can sincerely say, that nothing but an earnest desire to promote the cause of our poor oppressed fellow subjects, could ever have induced me to consent to be so peculiar an object of your attention this day; or to take a part so opposed to my habits and inclination. I fear in bringing the subject before you, I shall disappoint you, not from a want of matter, but from a want of ability properly to state it; for I confess there are various feelings which oppress and almost overwhelm me, not the least of which is the deep and humiliating conviction of the immeasurable difference between what you indulgently suppose me to be, and which I feel I am. I need not dwell on the motives which induced me and my friends to undertake the mission; or why some of us felt that we could not be satisfied with the investigations of a committee of the House of Commons, a majority of whom were either slave owners themselves, or under circumstances in which an acknowledgment of a violation of the imperial act, must bring condemnation on them or their friends; and the report from them at the close of last session must convince all who have studied the subject of the influence under which it was drawn up. (Hear.) I regretted to see last week in a London newspaper, (the Patriot) a report of the result of my visit to the West Indies, at a meeting of the late Society of Friends. I spoke under the confidence that there was no reporter present, and made there a more free use of names than I would otherwise have done. That report was doubtless given with the best possible intentions; and was, it appears, supplied from the notes of some of our own members; but as it contains many incorrect statements of facts, I wish to state that I do not consider myself as identified at all with it. (Hear, hear.) I thought it best to be thus explicit, because I expect everything that is reported here to day will go to the West Indies; with this expectation, I think it best not to mention the names of parties in the communications which I am about to make to you.—("Hear.") After consulting with those of my friends who have long laboured in this cause, it was concluded that our mission to the West Indies should be independent of any society, and entirely unshackled as to the publication of facts. As, however, one of them was of opinion that it might serve us, and the object, to have some document from the Colonial Office to the authorities in the Colonies, I thought it best to address the following letter to Lord Glenelg, just before our departure, [Mr. Sturge here read the letter to Lord Glenelg, stating the intention of him and his friends to visit the West In-

dies; that the object of their journey was to investigate the present state and condition of the negroes, with a view to communicate the result to their friends and the public; that their anxious desire was to do full justice to all, but that they should prefer pursuing their investigation through those private channels which were open to them, rather than obtain the advantage of official sanction, if accompanied by any restriction as to the publication of facts.] Subsequent events fully proved that in this they pursued the right course.

CAUSE IN AMERICA.

As, propably he should not again have a fitting opportunity of referring to the American question, and as he believed it would serve the cause better by not mixing it up with the West Indian one, he would now briefly do so, and then pass to the West Indies. (Hear.) During the few days (said Mr. Surge) passed at New York, I had the pleasure of meeting the committee of the National A. S. Society, and also a still larger number of the friends to the cause at the house of one of its most zealous advocates. Their progress is most encouraging. Petitions to Congress for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia, had been signed by one hundred and ten thousand individuals. It was anticipated that at least as great a number of members, forming upwards of 1,000 auxiliary societies, would be reported to the next general meeting to be held at New Tork in the course of last month. I had also an opportunity of seeing what liberty is in the city of New York, in the trial of a case in which one of the southern slave-holders had claimed one of the citizens, who had resided there for a number of years, as his goods and chattels. The man had been kept in jail for weeks, and was hand cuffed when brought to court. It was encouraging to observe the interest which was excited,—the court was much crowded. Our anti-slavery friends in America say that the greatest service we can render them is to continue our remonstrances against the guilt of the professing Christian churches.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

After arriving at Barbadoes, Dr. Lloyd and Mr. Scoble proceeded south to Demerara, and Mr. Harvey accompanied him (Mr. S.) to Antigua, where complete freedom had been granted to the negroes by the Local Legislature on the 1st of August, 1834; and here, observed Mr. Sturge, "I have great pleasure in acknowledging the uniform kindness and hospitality we received from the Moravian and Methodist missionaries in Antigua, and adding our testimony to the benefits which have resulted from their labours of love in this colony." In the space of seven months (continued Mr. Sturge) I accomplished a journey of about 12,000 miles by sea and land, and in company with my friend Thomas Harvey, whose able and efficient assistance was invaluable, we visited in Jamaica alone between thirty and forty sugar, cattle, and coffee estates; were at the Courts, or had personal communication with between twenty or thirty Stipendiary Magistrates; visited nearly twenty gaols of different descriptions, and were at the places of worship and schools of all the principal religious denominations. Those from whom we received information amongst the white portions of the community, comprised not less than 100 individuals of almost all professions and stations in society, connected and unconnected with the planting interest. We had also access to valuable documentary evidence that had never before reached this country; but the information I most value was derived from personal communication with some of the most intelligent negroes, of from seventy to eighty estates in different parts of the island, whose veracity we ascertained from the best authority that could be fully relied upon.

VISITS TO THE DIFFERENT ISLANDS.

In the prosecution of our enquiries, we had to bear it in mind that it was our duty to dismiss as much as possible, any previous bias, and examine impartially the relative advantages of apprenticeship and freedom, and how far in the enjoyment of the latter, the negroes had justified the expectations of their friends. This, the liberality of the Antigua Legislature afforded us an opportunity of doing. [Mr. Sturge here read a summary of the result of their enquiries in this island, in which it appeared that the great experiment of abolition had succeeded beyond the expectations of its most sanguine advocates. The trade of the island had revived,—the people were more prosperous—houses and land had risen in value; and the moral and religious education of the inhabitants had kept pace with this amelioration of their condition.] The little island of Monserrat, which we next visited, contains only 6,000 negroes, who are in a very backward state in a religious and moral point of view. It is an interesting fact, that a disposition was at one time manifested to abolish the apprenticeship on the part of the local authorities here, which would have been carried, had the government at home encouraged it. The measure passed the Council, and was lost in the Assembly by one vote only. Four of the proprietors, however, granted complete freedom to their own negroes. One or two of these informed us that they were doing more work, and they had less pilfering on the estate than formerly. (Hear.) From hence we proceeded to Dominica, which contains about 15,000 negroes, and also a more than usual proportion of intelligent and influential people of color. We had the pleasure of spending an evening at the house of one of them, and in a party of twelve or fourteen gentlemen and ladies, we were the only white persons present. We also visited the estates of some old resident French families, whose paternal management of their negroes, forms a striking contrast to that of the non-resident English. There are probably not more than 200 or 300 negroes on the whole of the island who can read, and the means of efficient instruction are greatly needed. (Hear, hear.) We next visited the French island of Martinique, where slavery still legally exists in its unmitigated form. We afterwards went to Port Royal, the seat of the local government, and had an interview with the governor, who has felt so much interest in the working of our measure, that he has visited Antigua and some of the other British islands. One of the many evils of our apprenticeship system is its retarding emancipation in other countries, as they are waiting to see its results, in our West Indian colonies. (Hear.) From Martinique we proceeded to St. Lucie, containing a Negro population of about 13,000. We visited the only school in the interior which we heard of; it is on the estate of a benevolent English proprietor; but to make use of an expression of an intelligent gentleman, holding a high official situation in the Colony, "not one ray from any of the benevolent and religious institutions of Britain had ever reached this island." From St. Lucia we proceeded to Barbadoes. In the capital, Bridgetown, there are several excellent schools, under the superintendence of the Episcopal church and the Methodists; but in the country, where the great mass of the Negro population resides, very little comparatively is done towards procuring proper education. As a proof what an obstacle to instruction the apprenticeship presents, we found, on inquiry, there were but two children present, who were not made free by the Abolition Act, in 1834, being then under six years of age, and the relative of these two paid something to their employer that they may be allowed to attend. From hence we proceeded to Jamaica, where we arrived after a week's pleasant voyage. Although we had obtoined much information from individuals of various denominations, and particularly from the Methodist and Moravian Missionaries, to whom we are indebted for much hospitality and kindness, yet these latter are under such restrictions, that whatever oppressions might exist, if we published any facts communicated by them we might expose them to the censure of their own body at home. (Hear, hear.) A Moravian Minister candidly told us that if all had acted as their Society did, Slavery would never have been abolished. (Hear, hear.) Another, after entering into a detail of most important information, and saying it was quite a relief to unburden his mind, said that he must impose silence upon us. (Hear, hear.) A Wesleyan Minister, to whom we had a letter of introduction, said that he should be glad to give us information as far as was consistent with his instructions from home; and although he received us with kineness at his own house, (Shame)—I believe he would have been afraid to have been seen with us in public. Although I do not blame individuals, who act under a system subjecting them to such bondage, or think this the time to offer an opinion upon such a system, yet I do consider it important that it should be distinctly understood, that whatever may be the physical sufferings of the Negroes, we must not expect information from the Methodists and Moravians. (Loud cries of hear, hear.) I wish to pause to notice this expression of disapprobation. These religious bodies have, probably, their own reasons for not giving information, and, I by no means wish to sit in judgment upon them. With these facts in view, it was under feelings of some discouragement that we approached the shores of Jamaica; but contrary to our expectation, a concurrence of favorable, may I not say Providential circumstances, had prepared the way for our obtaining most ample information. From the Missionaries generally we met with the warmest and most cordial reception, especially the Baptists and Independents; many others pressed us with offers of service, some of them persons of influence and consideration; and the Authorities in the island, and the Planters themselves, showed us every attention and civility. We had much opprtunity of witnessing the desire for education amongst the Negroes. The planters assert they will not attend schools provided on the estates, but this is evidently from a want of confidence in them or their agents; for when they know that those who offer them instruction have only their welfare at heart, their desire to embrace it is most gratifying. I have seen this evinced in schools connected with various religious persuasions, and especially amongst the Baptists. In one instance, we spoke to a schoolmaster provided at the expense of a Peer of England, for his estate, and found he had no scholars, though he was himself *a man of colour*, and yet children go miles from this very estate to attend a Baptist school in Spanish Town. In another part of the island a school was opened a few weeks before our visit, on Saturday, the Negroes' own day, and the missionary expressed a wish that the children of the people, connected with his congregation, would attend at the Chapel. In consequence 3172 were present, and some from a distance of upwards 20 miles—(Hear, hear,)—and the Missionary was so excited and affected by the number and interest displayed, that it produced a serious illness, from which he had but just recovered when we were with him. I have seen upwards of five hundred children on the Sabbath day at this school, most of them apprentices, and was informed that at a country station of the same Missionary there were a still greater number on the same day. It is generally known that the (so called) act of the British Legislature for the abolition of Negro Slavery in our colonies, came into operation on the 1st of August, 1834, or nearly three years ago. This act professedly granted liberty fully and freely to the Negroes, with the exception of withholding some political privileges; and for the usual allowance of food and clothing the predials or field Negroes were to work for their employers forty-five hours in the week, for six years, and the non-predials without limit to the hours of labour, for four years.

IMPORTANT STATEMENT.

I purpose now briefly to state—1st. That the conditions of the contract have been fulfilled to the very letter by the British Government. 2nd. That the conditions rnquired of the Negroes have been performed in the most exemplary manner by them; and 3rdly. That the conditions required of the planters have been violated, and continue to be violated in almost every particular in the colonies which I have been able to examine, with the exception of Antigua. (Hear, hear.) 1st. It was provided by the act that a compensation of twenty millions sterling should be paid to the planters, as soon as the colonial secretary should report to the legislature that the provisions for the benefit of the negroes had been faithfully carried into effect by the colonial assemblies. Lord Stanley having reported to this effect to the House of Commons, and also having previously given a solemn assurance on the part of the West Indians, that they would heartily and sincerely concur in carrying out the intentions of the British legislature, the princely sum of twenty millions was not only paid to them—but also interest on the same, from the 1st of August 1834. The contract of the British Government with the planters for the payment of compensation, although the sum required was monstrous in amount, unsupported by any claim of justice or equity, and wholly disproportionate to any loss which has actually occurred, or which can possibly accrue, has nevertheless been fulfilled to the very letter. (Cheers.) The negroes are quietly and industriously labouring under oppressions and injustice which, were they not the most patient race on earth, or restrained by religious principle, would drive them to desperation.

CONDUCT OF THE AUTHORITIES.

I now proceed to the important consideration of the conduct of the authorities, through which justice ought to be administered; and of the planters and agents towards the negroes. I went out with a determination, if possible, not to be biased in my judgement by any opposition or harshness I might experience; but so far from being in danger of having my prejudices excited against the planters by anything of the kind, I have to acknowledge, without a single exception, nothing but courtesy and attention from all classes of society. (Hear, hear.) I may, however, mention at the same time, one or two amusing facts which came under our notice, to show the sort of information which we were likely to get from the planters and local authorities, had we adopted their views. In visiting a celebrated estate in the island of Jamaica, in company with the attorney, one or two stipendiary magistrates, and the attorney-general, we were shown through the negro houses by a favourite negro. While there a woman, who had some grievance to complain of, thinking it most probably a very good opportunity to make it, came up to us for that purpose, when the head negro turned round, and sharply rebuked her, asking if she had not better manners than to give her master's property a bad character. (Laughter.) While on a visit shortly after, to a planter, well known for his humanity, his lady told us that a few days before some negroes from an adjoining estate had enquired of her if there were not some gentlemen coming to see them; for "they had been whitewashing the dungeon, and clearing up the hospital." (Renewed laughter.)

IN BARBADOES.

Mr. Sturge next proceeded to notice the conduct of the planters in Barbadoes. In the district of one of the stipendiary magistrates, there were, in the space of one month, 226 complaints against labourers, who received the following punishments:—697 days of confinement and hard labour; 517 Saturday's forfeited to the estate, 127 days of solitary confinement; and 180 days on the tread-mill; making altogether 1521 days; and independent of the suffering and wrong inflicted, the poor negro is afterwards compelled to pay this out of his own time, and consequently his whole Saturday is forfeited to his master. (Loud cries of shame, shame.) While we were in Barbadoes circumstances occurred which led us to deviate from a rule which we had laid down, not to agitate the question of the working of the Apprenticeship system there, knowing well that if the battle was to be fought at all, that it must be fought in England;—(Cheers)—but having heard that a strong effort was making to oblige the parents to apprentice their children, we were so alarmed that we wrote a strong letter upon the subject; and since our departure, I have received a letter, of which the following is an extract:—"I suppose you have seen Mr. ——'s speech on the subject of the apprenticeship of the children; he therein states that no one ever tried to influence the parents to bind their children. Thus far well. I am quite convinced that your letter was the cause of his saying so; if not slavery would have been continued in the Colonies under a new name. Thus far you see good has been done already. The——has been terribly abused by the authorities; they accuse him of having told you all that is going on. I only mention this that you may see how a man is used in the West Indies for speaking truths which are at variance with what is miscalled wholesome Government. Like the Jews of old I hope their eyes may be opened, for I think blindness has happened to them, not in part but altogether, as it regards the slave question." (Hear, hear.)

IN JAMAICA.

I shall now proceed to some facts respecting Jamaica; but they are so voluminous, that I will not confine myself but to a very few of those which came under my own observation, and which I had from the lips of the sufferers themselves. (Hear.) These facts I should take in the order of the various places which we visited; and I think they will show that almost all the provisions of the Imperial Act have been violated on the part of the planters. At ——, we saw some members of a Christian Church, one of whom was a constable, and said he found it very difficult to act according to his oath. He was frequently obliged to remonstrate with the overseer, on account of the oppressions which he practised. The people were deprived of their usual allowances of salt fish and salt, and had not more than half their former quantity of clothing. They were likewise deprived of their time, the overseer taking it when he wanted it, and it was a very hard thing to get him to repay it. They also informed us that they had been flogged or sent to the tread mill who had never been punished in their lives before, under the old system. Two of these were present. One a man who was a carpenter on an estate; one of his fellow servants died; he went instantly to his master, who gave him no orders about the coffin, and because he refused to make it in his own time, he was brought up for insolence, and with another of the negroes, an excellent deserving woman sent to the tread-mill. [Shame.] He shewed us one of his legs, which was much injured by the mill. A poor woman who was present had been most spitefully treated. She was the mother of eight children, and in weak health, and because she did not work on the first gang, [where the hardest labour is to be performed] the overseer got her sent to the tread-mill. She had the best house on the estate, but the overseer pulled it down and destroyed her grounds. [Shame, shame.] If a free child is taken ill, parents have to pay back the time they spend in attending to it, and if they take them to the doctor, they have to pay him.

HORRIBLE CRUELTIES.

As I have made mention of the tread-mill I shall endeavour to describe what it is, for I believe the people of this country have no idea of it. Almost every one of these instruments of punishment is of a different construction. This was a cylindar ten feet in diameter with broad steps. The hand-rail above it has eight pair of straps fastened to it, with which the hands of the prisoners are secured. The board under the hand-rail descends perpendicularly towards the wheel, and does not therefore afford the slightest protection to the prisoners in case of their hanging. The steps of the wheel project about 12 or 15 inches beyond the board, and are bevelled at the edge, so that the keen side revolves much against the bodies, knees, and legs of the prisoners with torturous effect. We asked the jailor at —— whether the driver was allowed to use a cat, and asked to see the instrument. It was a whip composed of nine lashes of small cords knotted. He said it was absolutely necessary to "touch them up" women as well as men. They struck the latter on the back, but the women on the feet. Not only all the steps, but the very drum of the mill were stained with old and recent blood, the latter being that of a poor old women, which had been shed so profusely, that even the sand on the floor underneath was thickly sprinkled with it. [This appalling statement excited the deepest feelings of indignation and horror in the meeting, in the course of which the Rev. Mr. East rose and said—Allow me, Mr Sturge, to ask this question: Did you see this blood you describe as recently shed. Mr. Sturge—I saw the blood, and put the question my self to the jailer respecting the cause of it, who informed me that the poor old woman had been put on the mill that morning, and being unable to keep the step hung fer the whole fifteen minutes, suspended by the wrists, with the revolving steps beating against and bruising her body the whole time. [Cries of "monstrous" "Horrible!" and calls of "Name the magistrate?"] I intend to name him before a committee of the House of Commons. (Loud cheers, and cries of "Is he an Englishman?) It was [continued Mr. Sturge] after some consideration that I came to the conclusion not to mention names, not that I am ashamed to do so, or that I am afraid of what I say here being reported, for it is my wish that every word I utter may go the world, and especially to Jamaica; but I found if I did not lay down some rule of this kind, many worthy men might be subject to persecution there. [Cheers,] We saw this women the next day with the penal gang working on the roads, compelled to carry a basket of stones on her head, and chained like the rest in pairs, two with iron collars. She was so dreadfully mangled, they had not attempted to put her on the mill again that morning ["Shame Shame.] Other women shewed us their legs lacerated in the same cruel manner. We had afterwards an opportunity of enquiring of the negroes from the estate to which she belonged, why she was subjected to this horrible punishment. They stated, that from her inability to labour through weakness, a former magistrate said she might cease from work; but that on a change of magistrates, her owner had sent her to look after sheep. One of them died, and the fear of punishment induced her to run away, thought it did not appear that the least blame attached to her. She had been absent two months, and when found and brought back again, had this cruel punishment inflicted by order of the magistrate who is paid by this county to protect the negro. [Shame, shame.] He could state instances which had come under his own observation where the poor negro was mercilessly mulcted of his Saturday on the most frivolous charges, in defiance of every principle of law and justice, and the people were obliged to work their grounds on the sabbath for a subsistence. We went to —— in the morning to see the prisoners and the treadmill; at first there were four men. The cylinder of the mill is of so small a diameter that the weight of the prisoners, when they all stepped, sent it round with such velocity that they were at once thrown off; it moved by jerks quickly and slowly alternately, so that to keep step in the ordinary way appeared to be perfectly impossible. The prisoners were obliged to step sideways, taking two or three steps at a time in a very awkward manner; one young man, who had never been on before, hung by the wrists the greater part of the time, after many painful attempts to catch the step; he seemed to be in perfect torture, and cried out, "I don't know what they sent me here for; I have done nothing to be sent here," &c. &c. When he came off he appeared quite exhausted. We were informed, on good authority, that in a whole district there was but one estate on which the people have not been deprived of their half Friday; that the overseer, knowing it was the wish of the proprietor at home, persisted in giving them the half Friday, but that the attorney had insisted upon his not doing so, saying he would take upon himself all risk as to its illegality; and before I left these people were deprived of their time like the rest. Mr. Sturge next mentioned the case of a poor woman who had three children. She had been ill for nearly four years, and being unable to do anything for herself, she had been put into the dungeon for three or four days at a time by her master, and taken out again without any authority from a magistrate. When locked up, her child had been deprived of the breast a whole day and night, and when she was brought before the Justice, he refused to punish her, from the week condition in which she was. The facts related by Mr. Sturge, relative to the treatment of females, were of the most thrilling description. Not only were they most cruelly punished, but their infants also suffered from the inhuman treatment of their parents. The men and women work in penal gangs in chains. The case of ten women, with children, in jail, was this:—They said that on Friday morning last as it was very wet they did not turn into the field before breakfast on account of their children: for this on Monday they were brought before the Special Justice, and ordered to pay five Saturdays; they told him they could not, as their provision grounds were six miles off, they did not get their half Fridays, nor their salt fish, nor flour, nor sugar for their infants, and that without their Saturdays they were destitute of the means of support. This refusal of theirs to submit to so unrighteous a decision, appears to have been construed into rebellion. They were sent to the workhouse for three days, and will still have to pay their Saturdays. Pregnant women are often oblige to pay back most of the time their masters lose by there confinement. They are not permitted to leave the field to suckle their children, and when they complain of this cruelty, their masters turn round upon them, and say, they do not care what becomes of them, for they are free children. [shame.]

CAUSE OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THINGS.

Though the cases read (continued Mr. Sturge) are but a faint outline of the facts we ourselves collected, yet they are probably enough to excite the surprise and indignation of all who have heard them; but it may be shown that the present state of things is the natural result of the measures pursued and the instruments employed. The execution of this momentous moral experiment, on the successful issue of which the great question of the abolition of slavery throughout the civilized world so much depends, is entrusted; first, and mainly to the drivers, book-keepers, overseers, and attorneys, to whom the proprietors in England delegate the management of their estates; for I believe not one in ten of the proprietors reside on them. The Planting Attorneys are the Aristocracy of the country; many of them have seats in the Legislature; most of them were originally book-keepers and overseers, and have recommended themselves to their employers by their superior skill in the extortion of the greatest amount of uncompensated labor from the slaves. The overseer may be cruel and unjust with impunity, provided he increases the crop of sugar and coffee; but he dare not be more humane than his neighbors, even though it may be the wish of the proprietor. Their employment mainly depends on the continuance of the present system, which enables them and their subordinates to lead lives too profligate for description. Yet with a certain knowledge of their infamous character, these men continue to be employed by the non-resident proprietors, mortgagees, and merchants, in this country, some of whom are colitical reformers, and others religious professors. (Hear, hear, and cries of shame.) The stipendiary magistrates generally have been selected as having no bias in favor of the Negro, some of them honestly endeavored to do their duty, but most of these either fell sacrifices to the climate, annoyances and persecutions, to which they were subjected, or resigned in disgust. A large proportion of those who now remain are mere tools of the planters. One of them was known, before his appointment, to have been active in destroying the Baptist chapels. (Hear, hear.) I am, (said Mr. Sturge,) about to offer an opinion here, in which I shall not at least be charged with partiality. It is that the administration of the Colonial department, under what was called the Tory party, was more merciful to the negroes than under the present administration. (Hear, hear.) Sir George Murray was an honorable instance of this, and I must say, whoever wrote the despatchec during the Administration of Lord Aberdeen, some of them did honor to the head and heart of the writer. (Hear.) I may be asked for a few facts in support of this opinion; and I will here refer first to the conduct of Lord Stanley, who, when the twenty millions were granted to the planters, did not oblige them to pay, nor did he recompense the Baptists out of the British exchequer, even one-third of the amount of the property lost in the destruction of their chapels, and though something more was granted under Spring Rice, a large portion of it was supplied by the voluntary contributions of the English people. But further, there were eleven magistrates publicly known to have assisted in destroying their chapels, and dot one of them up to this day have been removed from office for it. He would go still further than this and mention, that one who assisted in this infamous proceedings, is appointed a Special Magistrate, and now receive £450 a year from this country to see justice done to the negro. (Shame.) He would now come to a more recent period. When Sir Lionel Smith came to Jamaica, a commission was appointed to inquire into the cause of complaint of the planters, against the conduct of Dr. Palmer, who is present this day. (Cheers.) This commission consisted of two local magistrates, both of them planters or managers of estates, and two stipendiary magistrates, one of whom at least if he had any bias, it was against Dr. Palmer. (Hear.) At the conclusion of their inquiry they summed up their report by saying that Dr. Palmer had administered the abolition law in the spirit of the English abolition act, and in his administration of the law he had adapted it more to the comprehension of freemen than to the understandings of pprenticed laborers. (Much laughter.) Now would they believe it, that not only did Sir Lionel Lincoln Smith suspend Dr. Palmer on this report, but the colonial office at home have dismissed him from his situation. (Shame.) The effect of such a proceeding as this was to discourage eve honest man whh was disposed to act fairly towards the negroes. (Hear, hear.)

LORD SLIGO.

He could also instance the case of Lord Sligo. When this nobleman was appointed govereor of Jamaica, it was considered as an act of injustice to the negro, as he was himself a slave proprietor, and once chairman of the West Indian body. At first he committed some errors of judgment; but it was soon ascertained that he was honest in his intentions. (Hear, hear.) When he obtained an insight into the working of the system; he saw what was going forward, and endeavored to check it. The consequence of thls was, that a great storm was raised against him by the West Indian party, and it is a well known fact that some of these men applied at the colonial office at home to have him removed, ond the answer they said they received in substance was, that in consequence of the estimation in which he was held by the dissenters, who were a powerful and influential body in England, they could not remove him; but that a dispatch had been sent which would secure his resignation, and that that resignation would be accepted. (Hear, hear.) Now, if even Lord Sligo had been sacrificed to the planters influence, could any man hope honestly to discharge his duty in the West Indies? (Hear, hear.) There were, however, still remaining in the commission some valuable men deserved their warmest sympathy nnder the bitter persecution they are suffering.

TRIUMPH OF THE PLANTERS OVER JUSTICE.

He would give one instance of an illustration of this; and as the case had been before a judibial tribunal, he did not think it necessary to suppress in this instance the names of the parties. The facts of the case related by Mr. Sturge were briefly these: his book-keeper of the name of Mcclean, on the estate of the Rev. M. Hamilton an Irish clergyman, committed a brutal assault upon an old African. The attorney on the property refused to hear the complaint of the negro, who went to Stephen Bourne, a special magistrate, when Maclean was brought before him; he did not deny the fact; but said as the old man was not a Christian, his oath could not be taken! The magistrate not being able to ascertain the amount of injury inflicted upon the negro [whose head wss dreadfully cut;] but feeling that it was a case which aequired a greater penalty than £3 sterling, the amount of punishment to which he was limited by the local acts, detained Maclean, and afterwards committed him to jail, and wrote the next day to the chief justice upon the subject. He was discharged as soon as a doctor's certificate was procured of the state of the wounded man, and bail was given for his appearance at the assizes. Maclean's trial did come on at the assizes, and he was found guilty by a Jamaica Jury; he was very severely reprimanded for his inhuman conduct, and fined £30. The poor African however got no renumeration for the severe injury inflicted upon him, and the special justice has been prosecuted for false imprisonment, dragged from court to court, represented as an oppressor and a tyrant, put to above £400 expensesin defending himself, and actually had judgment given against him for £150 damages. ["Shame, shame."] Thus have the planters succeeded in pulling down every magistrate who ventures to do more than fine them $3 sterling for any act of cruelty, of which they may be guilty. The Government was considered to have pledged themselves by the report of the parliamentary committee to the House of Commons, to pay Sthephen Bourne's expenses, but the Governor has not yet done so, and S. Bourne was liable, when I left Jamaica to be arrested any day, and imprisoned in Kingston Jail. On the other hand, there were two magistrates who were dismissed while I was there, though I believe the representation of Lord Sligo, for flagrant violations of the law in their punishments; and in order to evince their sympathy for those men, he perceived by a Jamaica newspaper, that the planters were abont to entertain them at a farewell dinner, and had actually set on foot a subscription, as a tribute of gratitude for their "Impaitial" conduct in administering the the laws, as special justices. [Hear, hear.] At the head of the subscription he [Mr. S.] was sorry to perceive one of the most liberal minded planters he had met with, and who, he was firmly persuaded, would have never allowed them to adjudicate between eim and his own apprentices on his estates, but he was carried away by the powerful influence of the public opinion of his brother planters. Thus were too men notoriously guilty of violations of law and humanity, publicly encouraged and protected, while Sthephen Bourne, who according to the testimony of the present and late attorney general had acted not only justly but *legally*, was suffering every species of persecution and indignity for so doing. [Shame, shame.] This horrid system would not end even in 1840, unless they exerted themselves in this country. [Hear, hear.]

DESIRE OF INSTRUCTION AMONG THE NEGROES.

But he had dwelt long enough upon the gloomy part of the picture, and would recur for a moment to the more pleasing side of the question; and here he would first express his high gratification at the intelligence of the negro and the desire for instruction amongst them. [Cheers.] This might be observed in their large subscriptions, proportioned to their very small means, towards the building of their chapels. One missionary had tole him that the Sunday before they were there, he had given notice to his congregation that he would be in the vestry to receive subscriptions for the building of the chapel erecting; and though the day was very wet, and the negroes were many of them suffering from being deprived of their own time for the use of their employers, they brought to him between 270 and £80 currency. [Cheers.] Another minister who had completed one of the largest chapels in the island, at an expense of about £1,000 currency, had collected from his congregation since the commencement of the building £4,000 currency towards it. As a proof how much alive the negroes were to feelings of kindness and gratitude, he would mention that a contribution was going forward by the apprentices themselves, some months before his arrival, to present some testimony of respect to Lord Sligo, for his exertions in their behalf; and though he understood scarcely any of them contributed more than 6d each, it amounted to 1,000 dollars when he left the island; he [Mr. S.] was deputed to present to him a suitable piece of plate which was now preparing. [Cheers.] An instance in the way in which information spreads through the country occurred to them while travelling in a remote part of the island. They happened to be on their way to a minister's house, and observed a gang of people at work. It was pouring down of rain at the time, [and he would take that opportunity of observing that they were not usually obliged to work under such circumstances during the days of slavery,] but on enquiring of one of them, [a woman] who was in the road, the distance to a house they wished to find, after answering the enquiry, she addressed them nearly as follows:—"I hope you are well massa, God bless you, massa; we have heard of you massa." [Loud cheering.] Another encouraging circumstance to which we would refer, was the number of true friends of the negro which they met with at Jamaica. He believed he had a list of between thirty and forty persons, with whom he could correspond, belonging to the various denominations, and in various stations of society, who were sincere friends to the negro; and he thought it but justice here to mention that in this noble band, the baptist missionaries were eminently conspicuous. [Cheers.] Mr. Sturge next proceeded to read a document signed by six missionaries, addressed to a committee of their society, in which they declared that, after a close and watchful observation of two years, they felt it due to the apprentices to say that "they had conducted themselves in the most tranquil and peaceable manner, and had shown every disposition to be industrious where encouragement had been offered them." They felt it, they said to be their paramount duty to denounce the system as a most iniquitous and accursed one, offensive, harassing, and unjust to the apprentice, liable to innumerable abuses, with but little positive and actual protection." [Hear, hear.]

TESTIMONY OF THE MISSIONARIES.

Mr. Sturge concluded his observations, for the length of which he apologised to the meeting by reading the following document, which had been presented to him, by fifteen missionaries to make what use of he thought proper, saying at the same time, that they expected to be had up to the house of assembly to answer for the statements which it contained. The parties who signed this document might be stated to possess a direct influence over one hundred thousand individuals, or one third of the negro population. The missonaries, after bearing the highest testimony to the industry and good conduct of the negro's, proceed as follows:—

We cannot refrain expressing our deliberate opinion of the total unfitness of the apprenticeship system as an act of preperation for freedom; and that it is to the unparelleled patience of the apprentices, and not to its tolerant spirit, that the present peaceful state of the island is attributable.

To you we unhesitatingly declare our belief, that this monkery of freedom is worthless as a preperation for that state to which it can have no possibe affinity; that while it represses the energy of the negro, it has rendered him distrustful of the British public, by whom he considers himself to have been cheated by a name;—that it has entailed, and is still entailing, excessive suffering, eipecially on the mother, and her helpless and unavoidably neglected offspring; and that to secure its termination, no effort can be considered too great.

We do, therefore, most earnestly entreat you on your return to your native land, to exert your influence to effect the total abandonment of this system, in 1838.

But if every effort fail in procuring the abolition of the term of apprenticeship to the predial apprentices, that those advantages may at least be secured to them to which they are entitled by the provisions, imperfect as theyare, of the act for the abolition of slavery.

We further urge you to watch with vigilance, any law which may be introduced in the imperial parliament, or passed by any of the colonial legislatures, to curtail the the liberty of the negro after the termination of the present system; and any enactments of a restrictive and oppressive nature, calculated to keep them more degraded than any others of their fellow subjects for one moment beyond that period.

Your own observations in this colony must, we think, have convinced you that the costly apparatus by which it was intended to secure a measure of protection to the negro, is in many instances made instrumental in carrying on a system of coertion and oppression, as odious as that from which he was intended to be freed.

We cannot but express our regret at the apathy manifested of late by some of those friends in England, who so long and so zealously exerted themselves in behalf of the injured sons and daughters of Africa, and must consider that the responsibility rests on them, who have the power to obtain justice for this still injured people for any consequences that may take place; meanwhile we shall continue to exert our influence to tranquillize their minds under every disappointment, and to induce them to bear with patience the wrong they are called upon to suffer.

Mr. Sturge said, in conclusion, that he had already detained them so long that he would not add anything to that document; as he was anxious that Dr. Palmer should have an opportunity of addressing the meeting. [The statements and address of Mr. Sturge occupied upwards of two hours and he resumed his seat amidst enthusiastic cheers.]

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

CINCINNATI, SEPTEMBER 8, 1837.

To the Public.

The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society have heretofore candidly and explicitly stated the doctrines maintained by that association, and they are now induced to caution their fellow citizens not to confound their doctrines with such as individual members may occasionally advance.

The Constitution, after setting forth the principles of the Society, declares that whoever consents to these principles not being a slaveholder, may, on making a pecuniary contribution, become a member. Hence, good faith obviously requires, not only that those who enter the Society should sincerely embrace its avowed principles, but also that the *Society* should abstain from all interference with such other principles as may be held by its members. Of course, no member is required by his connection with the Society, to refrain from expressing (on his own responsibility) his individual opinions on any subject whatsoever. We believe there is, among abolitionists, a most cordial and unanimous assent to the great moral truths proclaimed in our constitution, while on many other and important topics, they maintain very opposite and irreconcilable sentiments.

Some of these sentiments being promulgated in anti-slavery papers, and advocated by one or more abolitionists, have been used to prejudice the anti-slavery cause. On the sentiments alluded to, the Executive Committee have no authority to sit in judgment; but, whether true or false, they receive no sanction from the Society, and every member is at liberty to assail or defend them.

While the Committee assume no control over the private opinions of their agents, and much less over the course which independent friends of the cause think fit to pursue, they cheerfully acknowledge their obligation not to permit the funds of the Society to be used for the promotion of any principles or objects whatever, except those specified in the Constitution; and it will ever be, as it has been, their determination, both in regard to the agents they employ, and the publications they issue, to avoid any just censure in this respect.

The great diversity of sentiment entertained by abolitionists, on political and religious subjects, instead of being, as our enemies vainly imagine, an indication of our weakness, is a demonstration of our strength, and an omen of our ultimate triumph. That cause cannot belong to a sect or a party which is espoused by men of all sects and of all parties. The rights for which we are contending, are the rights of our common nature, and their advocacy cannot safely be committed to any sect or party, nor can any sect or party be exempted from rebuke which takes the attitude of hostility to these rights.

In behalf of the Ex. Com.,

E. Wright, Jr., *Cor. Sec.*

Mob in Alton—Destruction of the Press of the Alton Observer.

We have just received the following letter from Upper Alton, Illinois. Every word of it may be relied on as true. We know our correspondent. Let every lover of truth and liberty and the honor of his country and the supremacy of the law read it, and then ask himself, shall these things be, and I fold my hands in silence and in indifference! Can I not, ought I not, shall I not, at once reach out a hand to restore the breach thus made on the liberty and independence of the press! I can, I ought, I will. So far as in me lies, the press that has been demolished, shall be built up in the very place that has witnessed its demolition. Let this be the language of the friends of freedom, and the intrepid sentinel of liberty, who has been overpowered by mob-violence, will soon be able to exclaim, "Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy; when I fall, I shall arise."—Eds. Phil.

Upper Alton, *August* 29, 1837.

To the Editors of the Philanthropist.

We are in the midst of the conflict here, the same one through which you passed a little more than a year ago. Join with us in fervent prayer to God that the result may be as in Cincinnati, greatly to the furtherance of truth and the glorious cause of emancipation.

On Monday night, of last week, the press of the "Alton Observer" was wholly demolished by a mob headed by the Postmaster of this city! Mr. Lovejoy, its editor, was on the same evening, laid hold of by the mob, as he was returning home from celebrating a marriage. But God did not suffer them to harm a hair of his head. He was enabled, by divine grace, to maintain his firmness in the midst of the fiery trial; and upon his telling them that he was in their hands, and that they must do with him whatever God would permit them to do, but that nothing should ever make him disavow his principles, they let him go.

There is a dreadful state of things here. Alton is forever disgraced, unless it take some speedy and efficient measures to rid itself of the odium of having encouraged a mob. Says the Missouri Republican, "Several hundred of the citizens were assembled, but evinced no disposition to interfere"! Now be it known, that this is the same newspaper which, a few days previous, had declared that Mr. Lovejoy was an *outlaw*, and had forfeited all protection from any community. And then, in a subsequent number, it called upon "our neighbors to eject that minister of mischief, the Observer," on pain of losing the trade of Missouri, and the trade through the State and town, of Missouri emigrants, with their droves of negroes. Accordingly, the thing has been done at the slave-holders' bidding. And what is worse than all, "gentlemen of property and standing," members of the Church as well as others, justify the deed!

The churches, as usual, are closed against all efforts to enlighten the public mind on this subject. Mr. Lovejoy, who now supplies the pulpit for the Presbyterian church of Upper Alton, had given out, that on the next Sabbath, (the 24th, yesterday,) he would preach in the evening from the 9th verse of the last chapter of Proverbs. No objection was made, but a consent was given on the part of two of the elders at the time, but when the day came Mr. L. was given to understand by one of the Elders, Mr. Enoch Long, that he could not be permitted to preach on that subject! He was also told that his praying, as he was wont, every Sabbath, for the slave, publicly, was offensive to some of the brethren! Bowels of mercy and compassion! are the principles of Christianity all a dream, a phantom of the head, without having any hold upon the heart! I think I know Mr. L. sufficiently to assure you he will not preach in any pulpit where he is not allowed to "open his mouth for the dumb."

What the immediate result of all this will be is known only to God. That it will ultimately advance the cause of the poor slave, of course we are well assured. Several valuable converts to the cause of abolition have already been made, among whom is Mr. W. S. Gilmore, as well known for his labors in the cause of Temperance in Illinois as Mr. Delavan is in New York. You have seen the account of the formation of our Madison Co. A. S. Society. If we cannot find a place elsewhere, we will hold our meetings in the woods.

Yours,

A Christian.

Alton Observer—Extra.

August 24, 1837.

To the Friends and Subscribers of the Alton Observer:

The "*Observer*" office has again been made the victim of mob violence. On Monday night, about eleven o' clock, the office was entered by a mob, and all the materials utterly destroyed. The press was broken to pieces, and the fragments, together with the type, fixtures, &c., thrown into the street.

I now appeal to you, and to all the friends of law and order, to come up to the rescue. If you will sustain me, by the help of God, the press shall again be established in this place, and shall be sustained, come what will. Let the experiment be fairly tried, whether the liberty of speech and the press is to be enjoyed in Illinois or not.

We need your help, and we must have it or sink. Let every man, whoever means to do anything, in the cause of civil and religious liberty, do it now. Let new subscribers send in their names, let former subscribers pay up their dues, and let every one send in their contributions, as it will require not less than *fifteen hundred dollars* to re-establish the "Observer." Every thing depends on you. If you take hold like men, like freemen, like Christians, all will be well; if you do not, mobism will triumph, but I shall be guiltless.

ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY.

P. S. Let every man disposed to help, write to me immediately, and let me know definitely, what he can do and what he will do.

E. P. L.

Nothing New under the Sun.

The St. Louis Republican informs us, that the editor of the Alton Observer had been *repeatedly warned*, first, by a *public meeting of the citizens*, and afterwards by *conferences of a committee* with him, and by *many of the citizens*, (doubtless "most respectable", "most intelligent," "most patriotic",) that the course he was pursuing would bring upon him the indignation of the people and the destruction of his establishment. But he would most obstinately persist, and so was made to suffer for his obstinacy. Of course, a man's "obstinacy" in maintaining rights conferred by God and guarantied by the Constitution, justly calls for condign punishment. Of course too, all a lawless rabble have to do in justification of their most atrocious deeds, is to give *repeated warning* of their intentions. The proprietor of that iron factory had been repeatedly warned, first by a public meeting of the citizens on the square, and afterwards by conferences of a committee with him, and by many of his neighbors, that the noise and smoke of his workshop were so offensive that they would bring down upon him the indignation of the people and the destruction of his establishment. Nevertheless; he would not stop his course, and so has been lynched for his obstinacy.

Public meeting of the citizens, conferences of a committee—what next! Why, "undoubtedly," Mr. Lovejoy "violated the most *solemn pledges*, upon this very subject." So says the same paper; but this is an old story. If Mr. Lovejoy did indeed make pledges, that he would not open his mouth for the dumb, he did what he had no right to do, nor the people to demand. It is high time that the sovereign people and the sovereign mob should know, that rights are not begotten by them.

Apprenticeship System.

We would earnestly solicit the the attention of the friends of humanity to the very interesting speech of Joseph Sturge, Esq., on our 2d page. It discloses a shocking state of things in the West India Islands. The conclusion of every candid individual after reading it, must be, that the apprenticeship system is one of the worst forms of slavery, unfurnished with any check on cruelty arising from the interest of the master, unprovided with any substitute check, and with not a single mitigating circumstance, except that it is limited in its duration.

The public should be made aware of the horrors of this system. They should be convinced that is by no means a fair exemplification of the doctrine of immediate emancipation; and its nature and workings should be so clearly exposed, that the evils already occasioned by it and the manifold evils that may yet result from it, may be charged on the right causes, the absurdity and injustice of the experiment.

This important speech has crowded out a great deal of matter; and left us small room to say any thing this week.

Petitions for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, &c.

As it is of some importance that the sentiments of the representative in Congress from our District, on the right of petition, &c., should be known, we lay before our readers the following correspondence.

Cincinnati, *August* 14, 1837.

Hon. Alexander Duncan.

Sir, In behalf of the Executive Committee of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, I beg leave to address you on a subject that deeply concerns them.

At the session of Congress in next September, it is our intention to lay before that body, petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and against the annexation of Texas to the United States, signed by some thousands of citizens resident in the district which you represent. Respect for you, as our representative, would induce us to intrust the petitions to your care for presentation: but, as we are unacquainted with your views of the duty of representatives in relation to such petitions, we shall not feel at liberty to trouble you until informed by yourself of the ground you will consider it your duty to occupy. Permit us, therefore, to inquire whether we may expect our petition to be promptly presented, if intrusted to your hands.

Yours respectfully,

GAMALIEL BAILEY,

Cor. Sec. O. A. S. Soc.

To this the following manly and explicit answer has been returned by Mr. Duncan.

Washington City, *August* 30, 1837.

To G. Bailey, *Secretary, &c.*

Dear Sir, On the eve of my departure for this place, I received your communication, asking "if petitions were put into my hands praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, would I present them." I answer unqualifiedly, that I will. I differ with you and the Society you represent, on the expediency and policy of immediately abolishing slavery—but that difference of opinion shall not prevent me from doing my duty as a representative.

Rest assured that I will do all in my power to get *this* or any *other* measure (which may be a proper subject of national legislation in the opinion of my constituents) before the House in which I act, although my present opinion is, that I must vote against any act of Congress on the subject, at least until I am further enlightened on the subject.

Yours, with the highest esteem,

ALEX. DUNCAN.

We are pleased to recognize in Mr. Duncan an advocate of the right of petition, and also to note the fact that he expresses no doubt as to the constitutionality, but simply the "policy" of abolishing slavery in the District. —Ed. Phil.

The Way It Would Work.

It is true, and it is not true, that where two evils present themselves, we are bound to choose one of them. When the question is presented, shall I risk death by the mortification of a limb, or, submit to its amputation, as furnishing the only chance for life, it *is* true that I must choose one of two evils. But it is not true that such a choice is demanded in moral questions. A man is never obliged to do a lesser moral evil to avoid doing a greater. God has not so ordered the moral world.

When both of two rival candidates for office, are opposed to principles which we esteem sacred and binding on every man, we give small evidence of the sincerity of our regard for our principles, but proof enough of our inconsistency, in voting for either. We cannot see the justness of the plea, that there is no other candidate, and therefore we must choose between two evils. No necessity exists for such a choice. We are not compelled to vote; and in no way should we compromise the sacredness of our principles, or even tacitly or indirectly be the instruments of putting men in power who will turn their power against them. If others act unrighteously, let them do it; but let our garments be unspotted.

Many of our friends voted in accordance with what we consider an evil maxim, in the last presidential election; and many of them we fear will pursue the same course again. Now if we can convince them that abstaining from all participation in any election, where all the candidates are unfriendly to their general principles, is the right way to promote these principles, doubtless their conduct will hereafter correspond with their convictions.

Let us imagine a case. Two candidates for office are put up in a district, where abolitionists number three hundred. They agree to question the rival candidates on certain great principles, and in the event of receiving no satisfactory answer from either, to withhold their votes entirely. The questions are propounded. No satisfaction is obtained. The course of action previously agreed on, is pursued, and the election is consummated without a single abolition vote being given. The fact is known and demonstration is furnished to political men of both parties, that three hundred voters have sacrificed party preferences and views on the altar of what they consider fundamental principles. Could any stronger evidence be given of the high value attached to these principles by the men professing them!

Let us see how this will operate. At the next election, or say two or three elections subsequently, politicians will have learned the lesson, that the friends of universal liberty cannot be moved from their integrity. Each party, ambitious to gain the ascendency, having no natural antipathy to the principles on which our free institutions are based, and aware that three hundred votes or less will turn the scale in its favor, will be careful to select such men for candidates as by their *pure republicanism* will secure the support of these independent voters. In this way, while the ends aimed at by the friends of freedom, would be the more speedily obtained, the collateral good would result, of "a recurrence" on the part of politicians "to the fundamental principles of civil government." That these would be the results of such a course of procedure among the adherents to the doctrine of equal rights, is as certain as that man acts from motive and that party loves the ascendency.

Suppose another case. The Van Buren candidate avows himself an antagonist of all attempts to repeal certain obnoxious laws, or refuses to give any satisfaction to those who may inquire his opinion concerning them; while the opposing candidate plainly declares himself the friend of such attempts. Abolitionists and the upholders of "equal and exact justice to all men", connected with the Van Buren party, draw off for a time to the number of two hundred, and give their votes to him, whose general politics they are opposed to, but of whose soundness on more vital matters, they are well assured. The Whig candidate is elected. The demonstration is now complete, that abolitionists and those who have rallied with them in the defence of constitutional and natural rights are determined to disregard all minor considerations.

What will be the effect? We may indicate such reasoning as this:—Last year we lost two hundred votes, by upholding a man who was known to be adverse to the extension of constitutional rights to all of the legitimate subjects of them. Now, as there is no sort of repellency between the required application of these rights and our objects as a party, let us act reasonably, put aside prejudices, and set up a candidate, who will secure the votes of the whole party, and not drive from it, two hundred voters. Who does not see what great good might soon be accomplished by the Human Rights' Party, if they would only faithfully follow out this consistent, principled course! There is no cunning, no log-rolling, nothing sinister in it. It is open, honest, manly, warranted, nay dictated by rectitude.

The Politics of Abolition.

Many advantages would result from the adoption of that particular course of political action recommended in our last number.

While it would advance us more rapidly towards the ends we seek by it, it would accomplish much in the purification of our present political parties, escape odium, and prevent our motives from being misinterpreted. For abolitionists to resolve themselves into a political party, (in the ordinary sense) and nominate their own candidates for office, would militate greatly against their beneficial influence, and tend to the corruption of their ranks by enlisting many whose object would be merely mercenary. Another objection to such a course we wish to state distinctly and impressively. It is a circumstance which will show at once the impolicy and improbability of abolitionists ever organizing as a distinct political party.

Legislation is concerned with other matters than slavery and its concomitants. The abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia and territories, although a duty sacred, and of vast and pressing importance, is but a part of a train of duties devolving on Congress. So the range of State-legislation must embrace manifold subjects, besides the few to which abolitionists would justly direct immediate and special attention. Now, as to the ordinary objects of national or state legislation, unanimity of sentiment among abolitionists, is not necessary, not demanded, nor does it exist. Harmonious in their views with regard to the well-known objects of their organization, they differ widely on all other points.

Let them attempt then a regular political organization, let them attempt to nominate from among themselves, their own candidates, and who does not see that an inexhaustible source of discord and division would at once be opened! Party feelings and party jealousies would begin to operate. Unity and simplicity of object would be lost. Abolitionists, who might happen to be democratic in their politics, conscious of their soundness on the score of abolition, and desirous at the same time of promoting what they believe to be orthodox political tenets, would insist on the nomination of a democratic abolitionist. On the contrary, whigs, no less conscious of their rectitude as abolitionists, and no less solicitous for the advancement of their political principles, would be better pleased with a whig candidate. Such a strife would be ruinous. Mutual confidence would yield place to mutual suspicion; harmonious effort would cease; zeal for the great cause of human rights would be smothered in the dust of party-conflict; and the result would be, open division.

We have thus been explicit, not because we apprehend abolitionists will ever become so imprudent as to pursue the course animadverted on, but to convince our adversaries, and those who have been in the habit of viewing our movements with suspicion, as originating in some selfish motive, how impossible it is that abolitionists, men of all politics and religion, should ever organize as a distinct, regular and political party.

Dr. Channing's Letter.

We have just received and read with delight Dr. Channing's Letter to Henry Clay, on the Annexation of Texas to the United States. When the character, honor, vital interests and high destinies of our nation are endangered; when movements are contemplated, which cannot but injuriously affect the cause of civilization and christianity, the voices of just such men as Dr. Channing should be heard. They cannot more profitably employ themselves than in standing up in behalf of the threatened interests of freedom and of the human race. Statesmen are not so wise, but that they may be taught; or so *good*, that they will do no wrong. Nay, if there be any class of men whose judgments need enlightenment on all questions directly involving the principles of moral rectitude, they are statesmen. Even such a man as Henry Clay, may learn truth, (and be incited to right decisions in great politico-moral questions,) from the Christian philosopher—from him who has studied history, human nature, the interests of humanity, and the destinies of man, in the light of Divine Revelation—from him who has gathered his code of individual and national morality from the Majesty that gave the law on the Mount that burned with fire, in the midst of thunderings and lightnings.

Must such men hold their peace when a great national crime is meditated, lest they should be charged with presumption in stepping out of their vocation! That is a most ungenerous, indefensible prejudice, which on pretence of having every man stick to his trade, would exclude the purest and most gifted minds in the country from all participation by counsel or influence in public affairs. As if it were not the vocation of *every American*, to uphold national honor, national faith, national rectitude, and national happiness.

We see no propriety in the following paragraph from one of our best political papers.

Texas.—Dr. Channing.

A pamphlet letter has just been published, at Boson, from Dr. Channing to Mr. Clay, against the admission of Texas into the Union. The Doctor might have employed himself more profitably. He is a man too respectable to be treated with levity. And yet when he undertakes to associate himself with this matter and make Mr. Clay one of his company, it is not amiss to remind him of the maxim, "*ne sutor ultra crepidam.*" The admission of Texas into the Union is not a debateable question. It will never make a noise in Congress. The unwise move of Mississippi will be quietly laid on the table, so quietly as to give a quietus to the whole case.

A Sign.

The "Cincinnati Daily Express," is the title of a new paper about to be established in Cincinnati, to be conducted by *Joseph Reese Fry*. In running our eye over its very excellent prospectus, we were pleased to note the following:

"In a word, in the conduct of this journal, all available means will be employed to disseminate useful information;—to *uphold the laws in their supremacy, and oppose the spirit of violence*, which has begun to threaten the sound operation of our institutions; and to *sustain the Freedom of the Press, the Rights of Conscience* and the *cause of Religion, Morality and Republican Principles.*"

"Honesty is the best policy." If the Editor stick to his text, he will realize the truth of this old adage. We are quite sure that the time is near at hand, when public sentiment in Cincinnati will tolerate no paper, that shall dare to dishonor the noble principles to which Mr. Fry thus stands pledged. We have taken the liberty of italicising what we wished noted in the extract.—Ed. Phil.

Convention of Colored People of Ohio.

We have received an account of the proceedings of this Convention, which sat in this city the whole of last week; but the crowded state of our colums, at this period, compels us to substitute for the report as communicated, a brief editorial abstract.

The Convention was organized, Monday morning, August 21st, 1837, by appointing the Rev. C. Yancy President, Wm. Johnson and J. Malvin, Vice Presidents, A. M. Summer, J. Leach, and L. L. Lewis, Secretaries, and W. Shelton, Chaplain.

Committees were appointee to draft reports on different subjects connected with the objects of the Convention; but it was subsequently determined that every thing should originate and be considered in Committee of the whole. One of the earliest resolutions was worthy of a much much more enlightened body of men; it limited the speeches on subjects that might incidentally come up to *fifteen minutes each*.

We have not a copy of the Report of the Select Committee on the objects of the Convention. We understand its principal features to have been a recommendation for the establishment, by and among the colored people of Ohio, of a *School Fund and Mutual Improvement Institution*. Accordingly, we find the following resolution among the proceedings of the present day:—"*Resolved*, That a School Fund and Mutual Improvement Institution, for the moral and religious elevation of the colored people of Ohio, be formed." It was moveover resolved, that a Committee be appointed to draft a Constitution for such a Society, that a general agent be appointed, and that application be made to the State Legislature for an act of incorporation:—To effect which several objects, means were subsequently taken.

This is the principal object effected by the Convention. Its sittings were conducted in great harmony, notwithstanding there was much difference of opinion among the Delegates upon several points, in their estimation important.—They adjourned on Saturday evening—passing immediately before so doing, the two resolutions subjoined:

"*Resolved*, That the Delegates, one and all, esteem it worthy their highest regard, and beg leave to present their grateful thanks to the White Citizens of Columbus, that none other than the kindest feelings have been manifested towards them during the sitting of the Convention.

Resolved, That our kindest respects be tendered to the Colored People of Columbus for the kind and hospitable reception we have met with among them."—*Ohio Political Register.*

We *acknowledge* what is *right* but *practice* what is *wrong*, is a maxim worthy to be written in letters of gold on every door-post in our land.

I know the right and approve it too;
I hate the wrong, yet the wrong pursue.—*Byron.*

NOTICES.

MARRIED,

On Thursday, Aug. 31st, by the Rev. Mr. Powell, Mr. Thomas Donaldson of New Richmond, Clermont county, Ohio, to Miss Susannah E. daughter of Mr. Daniel Parker.

PROSPECTUS.

THE GOSPEL OF THE JUBILEE:

An Explanation of the Typical Privileges secured to the Congregation and Pious Strangers, by the Atonement, on the Morning of the Jubilee.—Lev. xxv. 9, 46.

BY S. CROTHERS,

GREENFIELD, OHIO.

Terms.—It will be bound in Cloth,—perhaps from 60 to 90 octavo pages. Single, 31 cents: by the dozen, 25 cents per copy. Published as soon as the subscription will justify.

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Three Friends, [Donation] per Geo. McWhirk,	3 00
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C. K. Bushnell, *Agent.*

PLEDGE.

On a pledge of Clinton county A. S. Society at their meeting in February last to pay to the Ohio A. S. Society during the current year One Hundred Dollars—the undersigned paid the amount affixed to their names.

Thomas Hibben,	$20 00
Wm. M. Irvin,	1 00
Jesse Hughes, Esq.	1 00
Joshua Harvey,	1 00
Mrs. George Borton,	50
David Ashby,	1 00
Clark Nickerson,	2 00
Thompson Douglass,	1 00
Absalom Douglass,	1 00
William Ireland,	1 00
Eli Harvey,	5 00
Elijah Peebles,	1 00
Nathan Dix,	1 00
Joshua Harvey,	1 00
Amanda Nickerson,	12
Moses Fraser,	1 00
Frankey Kelsey,	1 00
Catharine Peebles,	12
Ezra Sewell,	37
William West,	25
Tacy Burgess,	25
Elizabeth Burgess,	25
Charles Atkinson,	25
Thomas Woodmansee,	1 00
Ruth Oran,	25
Jane Oran,	25
Cephus Atkinson,	50
Jane Atkinson,	25
Latham Starbuck,	50
James Hendrick,	50
Elizabeth Fraser,	25
Ethan Griffith	12
Mahlon Farquhar,	1 00
Treasurer of Society,	10 00
	$56 75

Pledges made to the Ohio State A. S. Society at Mt. Pleasant, April 28, 1837.

SOCIETIES.

Antrim, Guernsey co.,		$25 00
Ashtabula co.,	pd 80 57	100 00
Akron, per Dr. Cole,	" 9 50	60 00
Canton, [female] per Griswold,	"	6 00
Clinton co.,	" 56 75	100 00
Colchester, Upper Canada,		5 00
Cleveland,		200 00
do. female,		100 00
Cincinnati,	pd 100 00	500 00
Euclid, Cuyahoga co.,		50 00
Fayette co.,		100 00
Granville,		200 00
Georgetown, Harrison co.,	pd 56 00	100 00
Green, per J. A. Mc Fedridge,		30 00
Grand River Institute,	pd 11 00	20 00
Greenfield, Highland co.		100 00
Green co.,		100 00
Hartford, Licking co.,		25 00
Harrisville, Harrison co.		30 00
Hudson,		100 00
Lees Run,	pd 5 37	30 00
Muskingum,		75 00
do co.,	pd 108	300 00
Mt. Pleasant,		50 00
Middletown, Columbiana co.,		20 00
Monroe co.,		10 00
New Richmond,		100 00
New Athens,		75 00
New Concord, Muskingum co.,		40 00
New Garden, Columbiana,		60 00
New Lisbon,	pd 11 00	30 00
New Town, Muskingum co.,		25 00
New Petersburgh,		75 00
Ohio City,		100 00
Oberlin,		200 00
do female,		30 00
Peru, Delaware co.,		20 00
Ross county,	pd 45 00	200 00
Richland co.,	pd 80 00	200 00
Ripley,	pd 179 00	200 00
Richhill, Muskingum co.,		30 00
Sandy Spring, Adams co.,	pd 7 25	25 00
St. Albans, Licking co.,		50 00
Stark county,	" 10 50	50 00
Tallmadge, portage co.,	" 42 75	50 00
White Oak, Brown co.,		50 00
Utica, Licking co.,	pd 12 00	25 00
Welsh Hills, Licking co.,		20 00
Washington co.,		50 00

INDIVIDUALS.

Abraham Allen,		5 00
Isaac J. Bigelow,	pd 4 00	50 00
Philemon Bliss,		10 00
Dr. Jesse Bailey,		5 00
Daniel Bonsal,		10 00
G. W. Brown,		3 00
Jos. Bryant,		20 00
L. Bissell,	pd 10 00	20 00
Abraham Baer,		15 00
Wm. Boggs,		5 00
A. Crothers,		15 00
John M'Call,		5 00
Clark Abner,	pd 5 00	10 00
Mosely Clark,	" 5 00	10 00
Jacob Coon,		20 00
Colored People of Mount Pleasant,		12 00
Robert Daws,		10 00
Luke Dewitt,		10 00
Wm. Flanner per Bryant		5 00
Jos. Gill,		50 00
E. Gould,		10 00
Jos. Grimes,		10 00
C. R. Hamblin,	pd 5 00	20 00
Benj. Hockaday,		5 00
Hobert Hockaday,		5 00
John Keep,	pd 25 00	50 00
J. C. Ludlow,		100 00
Pinckney Lewis,		5 00
Isaac Lloyd,		8 00
Wm. E. Lukins,		3 00
John Lewis, (Warren co.)		5 00
M. S. McIlrath,	pd 10 00	30 00
James Maxwell, (Cadiz,)		5 00
John Parker,		10 00
Wm. Robinson,		20 00
John M. Sterling,	pd 50 00	75 00
Mark Strickland,		20 00
Thomas Swayne, (New Athens,)		5 00
John M. Scroggs,		3 00
Alex. Scroggs,		5 00
J. C. Tidball,		10 00
Thos. Vincent,		5 00
Dr. M. Wilson,		15 00
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STEAM SCOURING AND CLOTHES-DRESSING EMPORIUM.

The subscriber continues to carry on the *Steam Scouring* business, at his old stand on Walnut street, between 3rd and 4th, and respectfully returns his thanks to the citizens of Cincinnati and vicinity, for their former patronage, and hopes by strict attention to the business to merit a continuance of their favors. His mode of renovating is upon the most approved plan. He assures the public that he will extract all kinds of Grease, Pitch, Tar, Paint, Oil &c., and restore the cloth to its former appearance without injury, by means of a composition that he uses expressly for that purpose.—Coat collars cleaned without altering their shape, and lost colors restored.

Ladies habits, table-clothes and garments of all descriptions, done at the shortest notice, and in the best possible style.—This he promises to perform or *no pay*.

CHARLES SATCHELL.

Cincinnati, July 26, 1837. 7-8—5w.

N. B. Gentlemen's cast-off clothing bought.

POETRY.

From the Friend of Man.

MR. EDITOR:—The following exquisite lines are from the January number (1828) of the Methodist Magazine.—Are they or are they not "inflammatory," modern abolitionism? Would they be admissible under 'existing circumstances?' If so, would our southern guardians of their 'domestic institution' expunge them! We would respectfully call the attention of our book agents to the above queries. UTICA METHODIST.

From the Methodist Magazine.

Inscription under the picture of an aged Negro Woman.

BY JAMES MONTGOMERY, ESQ.

Art thou a WOMAN?—So am I, and all
That woman can be, I have been or am—
A daughter, sister consort, mother, widow,
Which e'er of these *thou* art, Oh be the friend
Of one who is what thou canst never be!
Look on thyself, thy kindred, home and country,
Then fall upon thy knees, and cry, 'thank God,
And English woman cannot be a A SLAVE!'
Art thou a man? Oh! I have known, have loved,
And lost, all that to woman man can be;
A father, brother, husband, son, who shared
My bliss in freedom, and my woe in bondage.
A childless widow now, a friendless slave,
What shall I ask of thee, since I have naught
To lose, but life's sad burden; nought to gain,
But heaven's repose! these are beyond thy power:
Me thou can'st neither wrong nor help; what then!
Go to the bosom of thy family,
Gather thy little cildhren round thy knees,
Gaze on their innocence—their clear full eyes,
All fix'd on thine—and in their mother, mark
The loveliest look that woman's face can wear,
Her look of love beholding them and thee:
Then at the altar of your household joys,
Vow, one by one, vow altogether, vow
With heart and voice, eternal enmity
Against oppression by your brethren's hands,
Till man nor woman under Britain's laws,
Nor son, nor daughter, born with her empire,
Shall buy, or sell, or hold, or be a slave.

ANTI-SLAVERY

From the Liberator.

Letters to Catherne E. Beecher.

NO. V.

Newburyport, Mass. 6th month, 8th, 1837.

DEAR FRIEND:

As an abolitionist, I thank thee for the noble portrait thou hast drawn of the character of those with whom I am associated in the work of Emancipation. I can bear testimony to their deserving all thou hast said in favor of them, and will now endeavor to vindicate those 'men of pure morals, of great honesty of purpose, of real benevolence and piety,' from some objections thou hast urged against their measures. Before I begin, however, permit me to express my entire denial of the principle thou hast laid down, viz: that it is right 'to make a distinction between the *men* who constitute an association, and the *measures* which are advocated and adopted.' I know that this is the moral philosophy of the present day, but it is *not* the philosophy of the New Testament. Jesus said to his disciples, 'By *their fruits*, ye shall know them;' 'a *good tree* bringeth forth *good* fruit:' and I do contend, that according to Scripture logic, either the abolitionists must be bad men and their measures bad, or they must be good men and their measures good; for these measures are the fruits of their principles, the certain index of their hearts. I cannot separate between men and their measures, and I have long believed this modern philosophy to be a subtle device of our opponents by which they seek to excuse themselves from a hearty co-operation in an unpopular cause, whilst they can not possibly deny the purity, honesty and piety of those who are its great moral leaders.

With regard to the simile thou hast drawn (p. 16) between abolitionists and 'the men (who) are daily going into the streets, and calling all bystanders around them and pointing out certain men, some as liars, some as dishonest, some as licentious, and then bringing proofs of their guilt and rebuking them before all; at the same time exhorting all around to point at them the finger of scorn;' thou sayst, 'they persevere in this course till the whole community is thrown into an uproar; and assaults and even bloodshed ensue.' But why, I should like to know, if these people are themselves *guiltless* of the crimes alleged against the others? I cannot understand why they should be so angry, unless like the Jews of old, they perceived that the parable had been spoken '*against them.*' To my own mind the exasperation of the north at the discussion of slavery is an undeniable proof of *her guilt*, a certain evidence of the necessity of her plucking the beam out of her own eye before she goes to the South to rebuke sin there.

'Much evidence,' thou sayest, 'can be brought to prove that the character and measures of the Abolition Society are not either peaceful or christian in tendency, but that they are in their nature calculated to generate party spirit, denunciation, recrimination and angry passions.' Now I would accept the charge, except that of our measures not being *christian*, and solemnly ask thee, whether the character and measures of our holy Redeemer did not produce exactly the same effects? Why did the Jews lead him to the brow of the hill that they might cast him down headlong, why did they seek to lay hands on him, if the tendency of *his* measures was so very *pacific?* Listen too to his own declaration: "I come not to send peace on earth but a sword;" the effects of which, he expressly said, would be to set the mother against her daughter and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. The rebukes which he uttered against sin were eminently calculated to produce 'recriminations and angry passions,' and they did produce them even against 'him who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth.' He was called a wine-bibber, a glutton and Beelzebub, and was accused with unblushing impudence of casting out devils by the prince of devils. Why, then, protest against our measures as *unchristian* because they are not *pacific* in their tendencies, i. e. because they do not smooth the pillow of the poor sinner and lull his conscience into fatal security? The truth is, the efforts of abolitionists have stirred up the *very same spirit* which the efforts of *all thorough-going* reformers have done; we consider it a certain proof that the truths we utter are sharper than any two-edged sword, and that they are doing the work of conviction in the hearts of our enemies. If it is not so, I have greatly mistaken the character of Christianity. I consider it pre-eminently warlike and aggressive; it waits not to be assaulted, but moves on in all the majesty of Truth to *attack* the strong holds of the kingdom of darkness, carries the war into the enemy's camp and throws its fiery darts into the midst of his embattled hosts. Thou seemest to think, on the contrary, that Christianity is just such a weak, dependent, puerile creature as thou hast described woman to be. In my opinion, thou hast robbed both the one and the other of all their dignity and glory. The descriptions may suit the prevailing christianity of the age, and the general character of woman; and if so, we have great cause for shame and confusion of face.

I feel sorry that thy unkind insinuation against the christian character of Wm. Lloyd Garrison has rendered it necessary for me to speak of him individually, because what I shall feel bound to say of him may to some like thyself appear like flattery, but I must do what justice seems so clearly to call for at my hands. Thou sayest that 'though he professes a belief of the christian religion, he is an avowed opponent of most of its institutions.' I presume thou art here alluding to his views of the ordinances of baptism and the communion of the Sabbath. Permit me to remind thee that in *all* opinions he coincides entirely with the Society of Friends, whose views of the Sabbath never were so ably vindicated as by his pen: and the insinuations of hypocrisy which thou hast thrown out against him may with just as much truth be cast upon them.—The Quakers think, it remains to be proved that these things are *christian* institutions, but thou hast assumed it without any proof at all. Thou further sayest, 'The character and spirit of *this man* have for years been exhibited in the Liberator.' I have taken that paper for two years, and therefore understand its character and am compelled to acknowledge, that harsh and severe as is the language often used, I have never seen any expressions which *truth* did not warrant. The abomination of slavery *cannot* be otherwise described. I think Dr. Channing exactly portrayed the character of brother Garrison's writings when he said, 'That deep feeling of evils, which is *necessary* to *effectual* conflict with them, and which marks God's most powerful messengers to mankind, *cannot* breathe itself in soft and tender accents. The deeply moved soul *will* speak strongly, and *ought* to speak strongly so as to move and shake nations.' It is well for the slave and well for this country, that such a man was sent to sound the tocsin of alarm before slavery had completed its work of moral death in this 'hypocritical nation.' Garrison begun that discussion of the subject of slavery which J. Q. Adams declared in his oration in this town on the fourth instant, 'to be the only safety valve by which the high pressure boiler of slavery could be prevented from a most fatal explosion in this country,' and as a Southerner I feel truly grateful for all his efforts to redeem not the slave only, but the *slaveholder* from the polluting influence of such a system of crime.

In his character as a man and a christian, I have the highest confidence. The assertion thou makest, 'that there is to be found in that paper or *any thing else*, *any* evidence of his possessing the peculiar traits of Wilberforce, (benignity, gentleness and kindheartedness, I suppose thou meanest) not even his warmest admirers will maintain,' is altogether new to me, and I for one feel ready to stand out and say, that I have never met in any one a more lovely exhibition of these christian traits of character. And I am not alone in this opinion. I might relate several anecdotes to prove this assertion, but let one suffice. A friend of mine, a member of the Society of Friends, told me that after he became interested in the anti-slavery cause through the Liberator, he still felt so much prejudice against its Editor, that although he wished to labor in behalf of the slaves, he still felt as if he could not identify himself with a society which recognized such a leader as he had heard Wm. L. Garrison was. He had never seen him, and after many struggles of feeling, determined to go to Boston on purpose to see this man and judge of his character for himself. He did so, and when he entered the office of the Liberator, soon fell into conversation with a person he did not know, and became very much interested in him. After some time, a third person came in and called off the attention of the stranger whose benevolent countenance and benignant manners he had so much admired. He soon heard him addressed by the title of Mr. Garrison, which astonished him very much, for he had expected to see some course, uncouth and rugged creature, instead of the perfect gentleman he now learned was Wm. L. Garrison. He told me that the effect upon his mind was so great, that he sat down and wept to think he had allowed himself to be so prejudiced against a person who was so entirely different from what his enemies had represented him to be. He at once felt as if he could most cheerfully labor, heart and hand, with such a man, and has for the last three or four years been a faithful co-worker with him, in the holy cause of immediate emancipation. I think it is impossible thou canst be personally acquainted with brother Garrison, or thou wouldst not write of him in the way thou hast. If thou really wishest to have thy erroneous opinions removed, only embrace the first opportunity of being introduced to him, for I can assure thee that with the fire of a Paul he does possess some of the most lovely traits in the character of Wilberforce.

In much haste, I remain thy friend,
A. E. GRIMKE.

Mr. Adam's Oration.

The double argument of the discourse Mr. Adams states to be—

"The principle of perpetual union, inculcated by the declaration of independence, and the inseparable connection of the doctrines promulgated by that paper, with the progress and final consummation of the ancient prophecies and gospel promises of the Christian faith."

Mr. A. thus speaks on the subject of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION:

"Were I now, as I shortly must be, cold in my grave, and could the sepulchre unbar its gates, and open to me a passage to this desk, devoted to the worship of Almighty God, I would repeat the question with which this discourse was introduced:—'Why are you assembled in this place?'—and one of you would answer me for all,—'Because the declaration of independence, with the voice of an angel from heaven, "put to his mouth the sounding alchemy," and proclaim *universal emancipation* upon earth! It is not the separation of your forefathers from their kindred race beyond the Atlantic tide. It is not the union of thirteen British Colonies into one people and the entrance of that people upon the theatre, where kingdoms, and empires, and nations are the persons of the drama. It is not that this is the birth-day of the North American Union, the last and noblest offspring of time. It is that the first words uttered by the genius of our country, in announcing his existence to the world of mankind, was—FREEDOM TO THE SLAVE! LIBERTY TO THE CAPTIVES! REDEMPTION! REDEMPTION FOREVER TO THE RACE OF MAN, FROM THE YOKE OF OPPRESSION! It is not the work of a day, it is not the labor of an age; it is not the consummation of a century, that we are assembled to commemorate. It is the emancipation of our race. It is the emancipation of man from the thraldom of man.

"What are the 'good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people?' The prophet had told you six hundred years before,—'LIBERTY TO THE CAPTIVES,'—the opening of the prison to them that are bound."

We are highly gratified to find the following doctrine on the subject of

PEACE. "Fellow citizens! fellow Christians! fellow men! Am I speaking to believers in the gospel of peace! To others, I am aware that the capacities of man for self or social improvement are subjects of distrust, or derision. The sincere believer receives the rapturous promises of the future improvement of this kind, with humble hope and cheering confidence of their final fulfilment. He receives them too, with the admonition of God to his conscience, to contribute himself, by all the aspirations of his heart, and all the faculties of his soul, to their accomplishment. Tell not him of impossibilities, when human improvement is the theme. Nothing can be impossible, which may be effected by human will. See what *has* been effected! An attentive reader of the history of mankind, whether in the words of inspiration, or in the records of antiqnity, or in the memory of his own experience, must perceive that the gradual improvement of his own condition upon earth is the inextinguishable mark of distinction between the animal *man*, and every other animated being, with the innumerable multitudes of which every element of this sublunary globe is peopled. And yet, from the earliest records of time, this animal is the only one in the visible creation, who preys upon his kind. The savage man destroys and devours his captive foe. The partially civilized man spares his life, but makes him his slave. In the progress of civilization, both the life and liberty of the enemy vanquished or disarmed are spared; ransoms for prisoners are given and received. Progressing still in the paths to perpetual peace, exchanges are established, and restore the prisoner of war to his country and to the enjoyment of all his rights of property and of person. A custom first introduced by mutual special convention, grows into a settled rule of the laws of nations, that persons occupied exclusively upon the arts of peace, shall with their property remain wholly unmolested in the conflicts of nations by arms.

We ourselves have been bound by solemn engagements with one of the most warlike nations of Europe, to observe this rule, even in the utmost extremes of war; and in one of the most merciless periods of modern times, I have seen, towards the close of the last century, three members of the Society of Friends, with Barclay's Apology and Penn's Maxims in their hands, pass, peaceful travellers through the embattled hosts of France and Britain, unharmed, and unmolested, as the three children of Israel in the furnace of Nebuchadnezzar.

"WAR, then by the common consent and mere will of civilized man, has not only been divested of its most atrocious cruelties, but for multitudes of individuals, *has already been and is abolished.* Why should it not be abolished for all? Let it be impressed upon the heart of every one of you,—impress it upon the minds of your children, that this TOTAL ABOLITION OF WAR UPON EARTH, is an improvement in the condition of man, entirely dependent on his own will. He cannot repeal or change the laws of physical nature; he cannot redeem himself from the ills that flesh is heir to; but the ills of war and slavery are all his own creation,—he has but to will, and he effects the creation of them altogether."

Mr. Adams then enters fully into an exposition of the prophecy of Isaiah respecting our Savior as recorded in the fourth chapter of Luke, and concludes,—

"Such are the doctrines promulgated by Jesus and the apostles,—lessons of peace, of benevolence, of meekness, of brotherly love, of charity,—all utterly incompatible with the ferocious spirit of slavery. Such is the total extirpation of the licentious and romantic religion of the heathen world. Such is the incontrovertible decline and approaching dissolution of the sensual and sanguinary religion of Mahomet. Such is the general substitution of the Christian faith for the Jewish dispensation of the Levitical law. Such is the modern system of the European law of nations, founded upon the laws of nature, which is gradually reducing the intercourse between sovereign States to an authoritative code of international law. Such is the wider and wider expansion of public opinion, already commensurable with the faith of Christendom; holding emperors, and kings, and pontiffs, and republics, responsible before its tribunals, and recalling them from all injustice and all oppression, to the standard maxims of Christian benevolence and mercy."

We cannot, however, agree with Mr. Adams, that our government is based on Christianity, at least to the extent he supposes.

After asking the question—"Why is it that you are here assembled?" he says,—

"Is it not that in the chain of human events, the birth-day of the nation is indissolubly linked with the birth-day of our Savior?—that it forms a leading event in the progress of the gospel dispensation? Is it not that the declaration of independence first organized the social compact on the foundation of the Redeemer's mission upon earth? that it laid the corner stone of human government upon the first precepts of Christianity, and gave to the world the first irrevocable pledge of the fulfilment of the prophecies announced directly from heaven at the birth of the Savior and predicted by the greatest of the Hebrew prophets six hundred years before?"

Hayti.

The policy of our Government towards Hayti has been marked a selfishness and illiberality which ought to make every white American blush. Our conduct, indeed, might well be quoted to prove the *inferiority* of the whole race; for it is difficult to conceive any motive for it more creditable to us than a desire to avoid comparison, from a consciousness of our inferiority. But for ourselves, believing that we are by nature equal to the blacks, we desire to have our national policy towards Hayti at once changed, that both the blacks and the world may see, that we are ready to run the race of civilization with any people—in a fair field with no favors.

In 1791 the black population of Hayti, or St. Domingo number about 500,000, nearly all slaves, and the white about 30,000. The slaves rose against their masters, for better cause than did our fathers against the taxation of Britain. Our government furnished arms and money to put down the insurrection. In 1802 Bonaparte, then in the flood tide of his power, attempted to wrest from the colored people of St. Domingo, the liberty with which they had been fully invested by the French National Convention, six or seven years before. At an expense of 60,000 French lives he failed. He then tried starvation, and *our Congress* joined him in a strict non-intercourse, much to the disadvantage of our commerce and the advantage of that of Great Britain. But the Haytians kept their liberty and established their independence. No thanks to any white government on earth, they have fortified both their liberty and their independence, beyond dispute, by a well organized republican government, which now bears sway over the whole island.

So stable and efficient is the government of Hayti, that our merchants do not hesitate to place their property under its jurisdiction, nor have they for thirty years found very great cause for distress, although we have had neither ambassador, charge des affaires nor consul at any port or place in the country—officers that are considered absolutely necessary to the protection of our commerce with other nations. It is true that some of our merchant vessels have been seized by the Haytians, but they have shown themselves willing to indemnify all just claims, provided our government should send authorized agents to treat with them. But this would be *recognizing black independence* and out of complaisance to our "Southern brethren," we decline urging our claims. While our citizens get indemnities for spoliations from France, Naples, Russia, Sweden, &c. &c., they must wrap themselves in the dignity of their *white skins* and pocket the losses with Hayti, because by acknowledging Haytians to be men, we should confess ourselves to be PIRATES.

We make these remarks to call attention to the following resolution of the American Anti-Slavery Society at its annual meeting:

Resolved, That the refusal of the Government of the United States to recognize the independence of the long established and well sustained Government of Hayti, in contradiction of our publicly announced principles of international policy, and to the inconvenience of a commerce, more valuable than that with many nations, at whose courts we maintain expen ive missions, betrays a subserviency of our national policy to the will of slaveholders, which is highly disgraceful to our national character, and calls us as citizens of a free country, to memorialize Congress to recognize the national independence of Hayti, and place our relations with it on the footing of equality and courtesy as with other nations.—*Human Rights.*

Northern Interference.

The slaves have better reason than their masters, to complain of *northern interference.* What would slaveholders do without northern men to carry their cotton to market for them? And to advance money, when they have squandered the means of carrying on their plantations? Slaveholders have *dead points*, as the wheelwrights say, in their system, and northern money is the great *balance wheel* to carry them smoothly over. Look at the splendid ruins of the broken Southern banks. The money that served as the nest egg for those prolific institutions came from the north, or from Europe by northern credit. Last winter the Legislature of Georgia chartered a bank called "The Boston Bank of Brunswick," the capital of which was avowedly to come from BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.—The insurance Bank of Columbus, Georgia, was last year purchased by a company of northern capitalists, &c.—*Human Rights.*

Prejudice against Color.

The following facts are from "The Colored American," a new paper edited by a colored man in this city, which, by the way, our readers would do well to subscribe for:

"First—there is in a neighboring city, part of an educated and highly respectable colored family, who have attended the friends meeting from their early years. Part of them were born, and have grown up with the Quakers. In language, in dress, in feelings and in habits, they are perfectly identified with them. Yet they have never been admitted to a full membership, on account of their color. And it is common, when worshiping in their Meeting-House, for the matron of the family, a fine looking, accomplished mother in Israel, to occupy a whole bench in a crowded audience.

No sister feels willing to worship the meek and lowly Jesus, by her side—and if a stranger, more condescending, chance to seat herself with the proscribed sister, she is looked out of countenance.

Secondly—a few years ago we attended a quarterly meeting of the Methodist Church, not far from Philadelphia. About two fifths of the church members, and indeed of the audience, were colored people. On the second day the house became so much crowded that the Presiding Elder proposed worshiping under some large spreading oaks, which grew near the church. The proposal was conceded to, the benches were taken from the church and the white people comfortably seated in the shade, while some blocks, and boards, and poles, were prepared for the colored people, *beneath the scorching rays* of an August sun.

"But "God is no respecter of persons." He permitted his burning sun to pass on in his diurnal course, and by three o'clock, his oblique, yet scorching rays, fell upon the long haired, pale faced brethren.

"At this the Rev. Presiding Elder, forgetting that God maketh his sun to rise (shine) upon the "EVIL" as well as the good; turned round with more self-importance, than Joshua of old did—not to the sun to *command him* TO STAND STILL, OR GO BACK; but to his sabled-faced auditors, and cried out in THUNDER-TONES—YOU COLORED PEOPLE—GET UP! *and come round here in the* SUN!! *and let the white people take the* SHADE!!!

This story may want proof, *it is at hand.* There is a Methodist minister who holds a charge in this, who was present, and can bear testimony to the fact."—*H. Rights.*

MR. JEFFERSON *vs.* NORTHERN SLAVITES.—Mr. Jefferson, in speaking of the *Declaration of Independence*, as originally drawn up by him, and submitted to Congress, says:

"The clause, too, reprobating the enslaving the inhabitants of Africa, was struck out in compliance to South Carolina and Georgia, who have never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who, on the contrary, still wished to continue it. OUR NORTHERN BRETHRN, also, I believe, felt a *little tender* under those censures; for though their people had very few slaves themselves, yet they had been *pretty considerable carriers* of them to others."—*Jefferson's Writings*, vol. i. p. 15.

REMARKS.

1. According to this statement of Mr. Jefferson, the "censure" against slavery, in the revolutionary Congress, came from a *Virginian;* and the *northern* brethren were among those who felt themselves reproved, and wished it to be stricken out! This does not exactly accord with the story of those who would have us believe that a "compact and a compromise" was entered into between the slaveholding *South* and the liberty-loving *North*, in which the latter relinquished, for ever, all right to utter a syllable upon "the delicate question."

2. The closing clause of the paragraph just quoted, is instructive, as showing the estimate made in Mr. Jefferson's day, of the *relative* criminality of the foreign *slave-trade*, and ordinary *slaveholding*. The *carriers* of slaves, appear to have been considered in the light of *accessories* to the *chief crime*, that is, SLAVEHOLDING! [The same idea is implied in the Rhode Island Ratification of the U. S. Constitution, wherein the twenty years continuance of the slave-srade is deprecated *because* it facilitated the disgraceful practice of holding men in slavery.] But *now*, the foreign slavetrade has become *piracy*, by our own laws, and the practice of slaveholding is defended as a Bible institution!

DE SOTO ON SLAVERY.—The learned De Soto, was one of the most distinguished and remarkable men of the sixteenth century. In reference to his vast knowledge, it was said, *Qui scit Sotum, scit totum.* "He who knows Soto, know every thing." He was the confessor of Charles V., and the leading member of the Council of Trent. Both he and his master Victoria took an active part in defending the rights of the natives of America and of Africa, against the rapacity and cruelty of the Spaniards. Mackintosh in his work on the progress of Ethical Philosophy, ascribes to Soto, the honor of being the first writer who condemned the African Slave Trade. "It is affirmed," says Soto, "that the unhappy Ethiopians are, by fraud or force, carried away and sold as slaves. If this is true, neither those who have taken them, nor those who purchased them, nor those who held them in bondage, can have a quiet conscience, till they emancipate them even if no compensation should be obtained." As the work which contains this memorable condemnation of man-stealing and slavery [says Mackintosh,] was the substance of lectures many years delivered at salamanca, philosophy and religion appear by the hand of their faithful minister to have thus smitten the monster in their earliest infancy. It is hard for any man of the present age to conceive the praise due to the monks who courageously asserted the rights of those whom they never saw against the prejudices of their order, the ambition of their government, the avarice and pride of their countrymen and the prevalent opinions of their times.

THE MEANNESS OF SLAVERY.—The people of the South are commonly regarded as very generous and high-minded; and peculiarly averse to every thing that is niggardly. They are fond of paying liberally for services rendered, and are unwilling to remain under unrequited obligation. You can hardly wound the feelings of a southerner more than by offering him as a gift that which other people are expected to pay for. They are ever forward to pay for things that others are content to receive as gratuitous, on the score of neighborly good will. Suppose, now, a high minded Southerner entering a shoe shop at the North to procure a covering for his feet. The shoemaker is master of his trade, and attentive to his customer, and from his well-furnished store selects a pair of fine boots that fit to a nicety. Our sotherner is much pleased, andpulls out his long silk purse filled with gold, and says, "This is an admirable fit, I am much pleased, what is to pay, sir!" The Yankee shoemaker replies, "Nothing, sir, nothing, I can very well afford to give you a pair of boots, I have a good pair of hands, and my sons are industrious lads, and we can easily make more." How quick southern blood would boil over. "What do you mean, sir, by insulting me in this manner? Do you think I am going to take a gift of a pair of boots from a ——— Yankee shoemaker! I expect to pay for what I have." Our mechanic coolly replies, "Beg your pardon, sir, meant no offence, but understood you could not pay your hands, who till your ground and raise your cotton, and I knew I could afford to work for nothing, better than the poor blacks could. But as I see you *now* expect to pay for what you have, I hope you will go home and pay up the arrears due to those that have reaped down your fields, remembering what is written in the old book James v. 4."

The fact is, the people of the South have never begun to look upon those whom they call negroes, as men, and therefore have never thought of the great meanness of receiving service from them without payment. When once their attention is gained to this point, the whole force of the southern character will be enlisted against slavery, with an ardor and efficiency which will leave the zeal of northern abolitionists nothing to do but to look on.

LONGING AFTER LIGHT.—There is nothing, except slavery itself, so cruel as the inexorable prohibition which the system enforces over the white population, against their knowing what is going on in the rest of the world. We know that there are, throughout the Southern states, generous and upright minds, who feel that slavery is both a crime and a curse, and who have heard that certain persons once reputed sane, are devising plans for its removal. And their bosoms long, even to bursting, to know what these projectors have to say. But, no, says slavery, you may not read; you may not learn the facts from other regions, you shall hear nothing, read nothing, know nothing, except what favors the system. Thus it is, that liberty goes for the whole or none. Even the whites can never be free, while they continue to allow the blacks to be held as slaves.

A young gentleman in the interior of one of the Southern states, says, "I am convinced of the great evils of slavery, and of the utility of your valuable paper. You will confer a favor on me, by sending the Emancipator, though I run a risk in receiving it, for the laws of this State forbid its circulation; for we in the South wish to read on the subject."

This young man was willing to run the risk of whatever suffering exasperated tyranny might choose to inflict, but he could not bear to remain any longer in ignorance of the truth. Go on, noble youth, and may God guide you to deliverance.

THE WESTERN CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE AND TEXAS.—We are surprised and grieved to find the following editorial paragraph in the Western Christian Advocate of the 4th inst:—

"TEXAS.—It is asked how Texas, being a *foreign* state, can constitutionally be admitted into the Union. We answer, Texas can cede *her territory*, and then Congress will *confederate her.* If this be not constitutional, it will do *in a pinch.* Let a thing be much desired, and nothing is more easy than to do it constutionally."

The italicising in the above is not ours. Here, then we have a professedly *Christian* paper, and one of the *official* organs of the Methodist E. Church, indirectly advocating the admission of Texas, into Union with these U. States, and this, too with all its laws and Constitution in favor of HEREDITARY and UNENDING SLAVERY!!!

We dare say, if a respectful communication had been forwarded to the Western Christian Advocate, remonstrating against the admission of that rebellious section of the Mexican Republic to our confederacy, the editors of that paper would have promptly rejected it under the pretence that it was a *political* subject. But when the friends of human liberty are lifting their hands to God in prayer, and using every possible effort to save this nation from that ruin which they believe to be inevitable, in case, Texas, with all its slavery, be admitted into our Union; the editors of the Western Christian Advocate, as, if concerned lest this disaster should not befall us as a nation, take the pains to inform the nation, *how* it can be done "in a pinch," and done "*constitutionally!*"

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A Farm of 50 acres, situated 10 miles from town, upon a turnpike road, having 30 acres in cultivation, a brick house with 3 rooms and a cellar, an orchard of apple, peach and cherry trees, a well and many springs. The land is a fair quality and lies generally well for tillage.

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A fertile farm of 136 acres, 8 miles from town, with 70 acres in culture, the rest well timbered with Walnut, Blue Ash, Sugar and Locust trees. The improvements consist of a frame house, with four rooms, a celler and a porch; a frame barn, two stables, a well and a good orchard of choice fruit trees. The land is rich, rolling, well fenced and watered with springs.

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